

Norman Bentwich

WANDERER
BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

LONDON

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., LTD.

BROADWAY HOUSE : 68-74 CARTER LANE, E.C.

First published 1941

*TO MY WIFE,
Who has wandered with me for twenty-five years.*

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY,

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FOREWORD

I HAVE written in this book memories of the last thirty years which seemed worth recording because of the peculiar interest of the time and of my connection with two movements, the re-establishment by the Jews of their National Home in Palestine, and the destruction by the Nazis of Jewry in Central Europe. My sojournings and wanderings have enabled me to watch them on the spot, and to observe their consequences in many lands. The first part of the book is concerned with the constructive, the second part with the destructive period. Those contrasted movements between two revolutionary wars specially concern the Jewish people ; but they have a wider significance, because Jewry is a microcosm, and what affects it is a reflection of world-forces. The Jew is not only the scapegoat of humanity but the barometer of liberty.

A wanderer between two worlds of time and space, I have passed in the activities of these movements from the tranquil and confident Victorian age to the troubled and fateful Purgatory of the present, when the Jews are suffering more grievously than at any other time in their agelong history of suffering. The book has been written in hours of darkness, while the freedom of Europe is crushed, and untold masses are physically and intellectually homeless. Yet I deem myself happy in my lot and my generation, and know that the Jews have something within that survives disaster, and that we are living now not only at our greatest hour, but at one of the turning points of humanity.

LONDON.

February, 1941.

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS

1883-1908

I WAS born on 28th February, 1883, in a semi-detached London suburban house in Abbey Road, Hampstead. I was the second child and the elder son of Herbert and Susannah Bentwich, who had altogether eleven children, nine girls and two boys. My brother was the youngest, born nineteen years after me. My father was one of the pillars and fighters of the Anglo-Jewish community, orthodox in observance, and convinced to the depths of his soul that Israel had a continuing religious mission. He was engaged throughout his early manhood in communal work, building synagogues and religion-schools, organizing lectures for the Jewish masses in East London, and engrossed in the hundred and one charities and philanthropies. At the same time he was a busy solicitor, an authority on the law of copyright, and as determined a fighter in the Law Courts as in the communal meeting-Chamber. He belonged to that first generation of the full political and cultural emancipation of the Jews in England, which combined with equal energy and conviction the double loyalty, to the community from which it was sprung and to the country which had given it equal civic opportunity. His father was an emigrant from German-Poland, who had been a jeweller in the City of London, but in his later years devoted himself to the synagogue. His mother came from a family that had been settled in Bedford for a century, and felt itself English to the core. She was related to the family of Jessel which gave to Victorian England its most famous Equity lawyer, the first Jew to be a Law-Officer and a Minister of the Crown, and afterwards Master of the Rolls. The pride in the achievement of

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political, professional, and academic emancipation, for which two generations of Anglo-Jewish leaders had fought strenuously, was an abiding influence on my father who had grown up with the final efforts of the struggle.

My mother, Susannah Solomon, was married to my father at the age of 18. She came from a family which likewise combined English and foreign strains. Her mother was from Prague, and belonged to an artistic family, Bohemian in origin and in outlook, which included the pianist Moscheles, the friend of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. Her father was a leather-manufacturer in Bermondsey, and she was brought up in that Borough in a typical Victorian Terrace, The Paragon, New Kent Road. The green half-circle and stucco pillars of her original home remain a memory of a passing charm at the side of industrial buildings. Joseph and Helena Solomon had a still larger family than my parents; seven sons and five daughters. Two of them showed exceptional artistic promise: Solomon J. Solomon, the painter and Royal Academician, and Lily Delissa Joseph, who had equal but less developed talent. My mother, with several others of her family, had a marked musical gift. Before she married she won Gold and Silver Medals at the London Academy of Music; and had she devoted herself to her art, she would surely have excelled not less than her brother. But she had a genius for motherhood, and she gave to her children what otherwise might have been given personally to the world.¹

Each one of us was taught an instrument; and while she sought out the best teachers to be had for piano, violin, and 'cello, and would take us to the Monday "Pops" at the old St. James's Hall, to hear the great virtuosi, Joachim, Sarasate, Paderewski, Dohnanyi, Kubelik,

¹ Living members of that family include Emil Hauser, who is head of The Jerusalem Conservatoire of Music, and the woman who writes political verse under the pseudonym "Sagittarius".

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Popper, she would practice each day with us in turn. She started with me at 7.30 a.m., when I did my violin exercises before going off to school. Music was not a mere accomplishment, but a possession for life. She was concerned, too, that boy and girl should develop to the full their capacities, physical and intellectual.

Largely self-taught, she had an interest in every aspect of life ; and besides caring for her big family, she mothered an unnumbered host of boys and girls who showed talent, particularly among the foreign Jewish families who sought asylum in Liberal England. The Hambourgs, Mark and his brothers, and Mischa Elman were examples of genius that she fostered ; and our house was a meeting-place for this young generation of promise. Both my father and mother, recognizing that their parents had once been strangers, had an instinctive feeling of friendship for the alien in the gates, whether Jew or Gentile.

My father represented in the home the ^{*}Hebraic element, the demand for conduct ; my mother the Hellenic conception that human energies are manifold and each claims unimpeded play. My father brought us up to the observance of Orthodox Judaism and to the knowledge of Hebrew, and with the faith that Judaism had something to give to the world. My mother saw to it that at the same time we should not be narrowed to Jewish interests, and that we should cultivate a feeling for art and the good things of humanity. We were a close-knit family, and have so remained.

My childhood was uneventful. On one occasion, when as an undergraduate I was dining with the Master of Trinity College at The Lodge, I truthfully but incautiously answered a question about my first recollection. It was falling under a bathing-machine at Llandudno, and being all but run over by the horse that pulled out the machines. The only significance of the memory, apart from the unforgettable impressiveness of our seaside towns, is that I have recollected best what

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happened on holidays. The Master repeated my recollection to the table, and made me blush with shame.

I had, with my elder sister, a governess (who had been examined at her Training College by Matthew Arnold), to teach me the three R's, till I was 10 years old; but the teacher who had more influence in my earliest education was Solomon Schechter,¹ a Jewish sage, living near us in Kilburn. He taught me the Hebrew alphabet. To many adults he was a wild and terrifying man of genius, but he loved and was beloved by children, and was one of the abiding influences in our household. He was the centre of a notable group of Jews, living in Kilburn and St. John's Wood, some English, some foreign, which included my father and my Uncle Solomon, Israel Zangwill, Joseph Jacobs, and Lucien Wolf. Known as the Wanderers because they wandered to each other's houses for discussion, and also because they were free to wander from the subject in discussion, they were rebels against the coldness of the Judaism of the too respectable Anglo-Jewish community, of the "religion without enthusiasm", and concerned to revive the ardent spirit which was suppressed after the achievement of civil and political equality. Emancipation, as they held, should be not an end in itself but the prelude to a fresh Jewish striving, a means to enable the Jews to become a positive spiritual force in the life of the community of which they were equal citizens. Above all, the Jew must not despise and neglect his own cultural heritage, now that he had the opportunity of sharing the cultural life of the country. The group of Wanderers later passed into the more formal association of a Club—the Macca-beans, but lost in the process most of the spirit. The name of the Club, more than its achievement, indicated its original purpose.

Before I went to any school, I had begun to have violin lessons, first with a Swiss, Max Reichel, and then

¹ Later Reader in Rabbinics in Cambridge University and President of the Jewish Theological Seminary in America.

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for many years with one of the virtuosi of the older generation, August Wilhelmj, who had been the leader in the original orchestra of Wagner's operas at Bayreuth. He was a splendid figure of a man, big of stature with a shock of white hair; and his music-room was full of his past glories, orders given him by the Princes, and manuscripts and photos of Wagner and other composers and big musicians of the century. He gave to music-lessons associations that were splendid, very different from the humdrum lessons of a master at a school.

I went in due course for a year to the Preparatory School of St. Paul's, conducted by James Bewsher, in the Hammersmith Road. The head-boy of the school during that year was William Temple, whose father was then Bishop of London and later Archbishop of Canterbury. He himself was to follow in his father's footsteps and become Archbishop of York. With him in those early years I shared one disability, illegible handwriting; and we had to bring up together a fair copy each morning to the head master. I hope the results were more successful with him than they were with me. One of our masters at the Preparatory School was to achieve fame otherwise, Mr. Sankey, later to be Lord Chancellor. He was a friend of another familiar of our household, Herman Cohen, sharing with him in the Temple rooms which seemed to us a den of Paradise.

In 1895 I passed into St. Paul's School and was there for six years under the greatest of its high-masters, Frederick Walker. No boy could be in his presence for a minute without realizing that he was before a great man, frightening perhaps, but different from anybody else. He had made St. Paul's the outstanding school in the country for classical studies. At the time when I entered it, the number of open scholarships won each year at Oxford and Cambridge far exceeded that of any other Public School. The higher ranks of the English and Indian civil service to-day include several men who were my contemporaries: two Governors of

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Provinces in India, Sir Lancelot Graham and Sir James Sifton ; and in the Home Service, Sir Walter Nicholson, Sir Otto Niemeyer, Sir Geoffrey Whiskard, and so forth ; and outside the closed service, Lord Justice Slessor, G. M. Young, L. S. Woolf, Compton-Mackenzie, G. D. Cole, P. B. Clayton, of Toc H, and Eric Kennington, the painter and sculptor. The Palestine administration, with which I was to be associated later, numbered amongst its early chief members several other contemporaries, Colonel Bewsher, the first Commander of the Frontier Force ; Sir Michael Macdonell, the second Chief Justice ; Sir Hathorn Hall, Chief Secretary, 1933-6.

Walker used to claim that a historic London day-school like St. Paul's, with a long tradition, offered the best form of education, because the parents took a serious interest in the progress of their children ; and so it combined the virtues of the home with the virtues of the boarding-schools. He had a wonderful way with parents. To one who asked him anxiously whether he was careful about the family of the boys admitted to the school, he said : " Have no fear, Madam, we shall make no inquiry into your antecedents." After a visit from parents of a prospective pupil, he remarked that the father was an outstanding man, and the mother brought the family to the average level. It was in his day that Jewish boys were admitted freely to the School, which had been founded by Colet in the reign of Elizabeth " for the children of *all* nations ". Together with Roman Catholics, Jews did not attend prayers, but were relegated to the Art School. One of my schoolfellows to be thus relegated was Reginald Wilenski who practised at school a precocious artistic talent. The Jews numbered between thirty and forty ; and Walker impressed it that each of us was responsible for the good name of the rest. That was the privilege, or the burden, as you pleased, of being a member of a minority.

Walker did not teach any class, but kept under his special care any young boy who showed promise ; he set

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him to do Latin and Greek exercises all and every day "in Hall" for a term or more, and then put him up at a bound three or four classes. So bright boys spent several years in the highest forms, where we did nothing but classics and a little French. We learned some mathematics, but on the classical side never enough to give us a conception of what mathematics means ; and of the natural sciences, physics, and chemistry, we did not learn the first element. Walker had established a "Science" side when the school moved from the precincts of the Cathedral to Hammersmith, but he had an almost undisguised contempt for it. It is reported that, when he was showing the Headmaster of the City of London School, Dr. Abbott, over the laboratories in the new buildings, and Abbott expressed his admiration, Walker turned to him and said : "But you and I know this is not education."

My father, who started his University course by passing the London Matriculation, was anxious that I should do the same. So surreptitiously I prepared for the examination in General Elementary Science, which was a compulsory subject, not at the School, but at night classes of the London Tutorial College. When my passing of the examination came to the knowledge of the High Master, he sent for my father, rated him for burdening me with useless knowledge, and impressed on him that Greek and Latin must be my business for the next years. I was head of the School in my last year, but not captain. That office was excluded to Jews because they could not read the School prayers. I suffered a few other disabilities because of Jewish observance. On account of the requirements of Kosher ritual I did not lunch at the School ; and because of Sabbath I would not play games on the Saturday. I should probably not have won distinction anyhow ; but a certain feeling of separation was set up. I had a vicarious enthusiasm for cricket, which took the form of my following the County Championship with feverish excitement. My favourite county

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was irrationally Surrey ; and I have maintained to this day that irrational affection. Many of the Jewish boys, of course, had their full part in games as well as the other School activities ; but my sisters and I had to attain distinction by our music. We were conscious then of our Judaism, recognizing it as an attitude to life ; and we were, I think, respected for that. Feeling against the Jew is provoked not by admission of otherness, which the Gentile recognizes, but by the attempt to conceal his race or religion, which is made by some Jews who have a feeling of shame of their race. For them Judaism is a misfortune ; as Humbert Wolfe pointed out in a passage of his childhood autobiography : “ The unthinking, automatic anti-Semitism of a part of the English is destructive of spiritual integrity.”

Soon after I entered St. Paul's, a new Jewish interest began to dominate our family and to affect the lives of us all. My father paid a visit to Palestine in 1897, as the head of a Jewish party of twenty, which was glorified with the title of a Maccabean Pilgrimage. For several years he had been taking an active part in the movement for the return of the Jews to the soil of the “ land of Israel ”. That movement, which had been championed in a previous generation by the outstanding English Jew of the Victorian era, the hero of my father's youth, Sir Moses Montefiore, had entered a fresh phase in the year that I was born. The first Conference of the Lovers of Zion (Chovevi Zion : Hebraice) was held at Kattowicz in 1883, the year of Montefiore's centenary. The intensification of Jewish persecution in Czarist Russia gave a practical impulse for the realization of dreams which had been part of Jewish faith for 2,000 years, and had been lately expressed by George Eliot in her *Daniel Deronda*. My father saw in the return the instrument for his ideal of a Jewish people revived as a religious force, a Kingdom of Priests, and continuing their mission. His ardour for extending synagogues and Jewish religion classes gave way to ardour for the settlement of

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Jews from Eastern Europe on the ancestral soil. He was associated with a group of English Jews and English Christians, who shared the enthusiasm. Among the Jews were Colonel Albert Goldsmid, a Daniel Deronda come to judgment, who was the Chief of the Lovers of Zion in England, Elim D'Avigdor, the father of Sir Osmond d'Avigdor-Goldsmid, and Sir Samuel Montagu, later Lord Swaythling. Among the non-Jews were Colonel Conder, the associate of Lord Kitchener in the survey of the Holy Land for the Palestine Exploration Fund, Holman Hunt, the painter, Hall Caine, the best-seller novelist, and Father Ignatius, the eloquent head of a Welsh monastic Brotherhood. The bitterness, on the one hand, of the persecution in Tsarist Russia, which was continued through the 'eighties and the 'nineties, and the development of the pioneer agricultural villages in Palestine, supported by the munificent head of the French house of Rothschild, on the other, kept the movement alive in England. But it was on a small scale. The organization was divided into Tents corresponding with the Tribes of Israel ; and my father was the Commander of a Tent and Vice-Chief of the Association.

Then in 1895, a meteor appeared in the Jewish sky. Dr. Theodor Herzl, a playwright and the Paris correspondent of the Vienna newspaper, the *Neue Freie Presse*, stung by the outbreak of antisemitism in France which followed on the Dreyfus case, called to the Jewish people to become again a nation with a home, a local habitation of their own. He was a man of genius and superb presence, majestic in mind and mien, possessed by an Idea ; and he flashed his brilliant light on the dim life of the Ghettos. The Judenstadt of the *Geist Jude* seemed to the Jewish millionaire philanthropist—Baron de Hirsch, the *Geld-Jude*, a wild phantasy ; and so it was to most of the leaders of Western Jewry ; but not to my father or to some others of the "Wandering Jews" in London. The Dreyfus case had moved our household also to the depths. It is strange to reflect to-day that in the last generation the

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Western world was convulsed by injustice to one Jew. Month by month we followed breathlessly the dramatic changes ; and Zola and Picquart were for us heroes in shining armour. When Herzl, rejected in Paris and in his own Vienna by the Jewish leaders, turned to London, convinced prophetically that England with her abiding faith in the Restoration of the Jews would be more responsive, he found, sure enough, an audience in the Maccabean Society. My father was fired by that first encounter in 1896, and henceforth hitched his wagon to the star of the East.

Herzl equally came to recognize that the Jewish National Home must be in the land which was engraved in the heart and soul of the people. He gathered around him the groups of the Lovers of Zion and essayed to transform their gentle efforts into something bigger—a national movement. My father went with him most of the way ; but with his roots in Jewish religious tradition, he insisted that the Zionist movement was essentially a fusion of religion and nationality. For him Schechter's influence had deepened that conviction ; and it was confirmed by a Christian writer, George Adam Smith, whose books, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land* and *The Prophets of Israel*, were a gospel in our home. His account of the faith of the Prophets of Israel was accepted by us as a creed. "Israel was his body, his atmosphere, his universe. Through it he felt a thrill of the Deity. Confine religion to the personal : it grows morbid. Wed it to patriotism : it lives in the open and its blood is pure." We accepted, too, Mazzini's creed that the nationality was the link between man and God, and a country was the sign of a mission which God gave a people to fulfil. My father, anxious to rouse the community to his own aspiration, stirred the Maccabean Society to sponsor a tour of exploration of the Jewish settlements. Of his companions the best known English Jews were two writers, Israel Zangwill and S. L. Bensusan. It seems strange to-day that a conducted

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tour, arranged through Cook's, and limited to a ride through the better-known parts of the country for two weeks, should have attracted such attention, but the Pilgrimage was marked at the time as an event of Anglo-Jewry. My father returned a hero to his family ; he came, too, like the Crusaders, loaded with trophies from the Holy Land ; and pictures of Palestine lined our staircase in a parallel row with the photos of pictures in the Italian galleries. Henceforth Jerusalem was to be built in England's green and happy home.

My father hovered on the brink of the political Zionist movement. Though pressed by Herzl, he would not go as a delegate to the first Zionist Congress at Basle—in the summer of 1897. But in the following year he was a delegate to the Second Congress, and two years later he took me with him to the Third at Basle. Our house from this time onwards was full of enthusiasts from Central and Eastern Europe, as well as of musicians from the same climes. We unconsciously imbibed a feeling of an international society ; and more strongly, we had from this time the feeling for the Jewish people pursuing a creative purpose, and a recognition of the brotherhood of Israel.

My father, indeed, did not contemplate at this stage the removal of the family to Palestine ; or, if he did contemplate it in moments of ecstasy, the common sense of my mother, who was more whole-heartedly rooted in England with her eleven hostages to fortune, checked exuberant impulse. He even planted a fresh root in England, building at Birchington, on the Kent coast, a house which should be the permanent centre of the family. With his heart half-turned to the East, he gave it the compromising name of Carmel-Court, and adorned it like our home in London with Palestine pictures and trophies. It was his English Zion ; and he flew from a flagstaff in the garden the English and Zionist flags. In these formative years he crossed the Rubicon that separated the Lovers of Zion from the followers of Herzl.

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He was the legal adviser of Herzl in the constitution of the Jewish Colonial Trust, the banking company founded in England for the purpose of obtaining a Charter for Jewish settlement in Palestine.

Henceforth Palestine was about us in the home ; and the idea of living in Palestine and working for the return of the Jewish people, not at a distance but in the country itself, began to take shape. It was a cause competing with a career in England, professional or artistic, and competing with service for the general or Jewish community in England ; but for years the idea was vague, unformed, and did not impel to action.

It was decided that I should go to Cambridge and sit for a classical scholarship at Trinity College, instead of following the usual destiny of the head-boys of St. Paul's, to sit for a scholarship at Balliol, Oxford. The presence at Cambridge of Solomon Schechter, who was the Reader in Rabbimics, was the principal reason. I often stayed with him during holidays from school, and he stayed at our house when he came to lecture as Professor of Hebrew at University College. I felt myself a disciple, and essayed to be that more thoroughly during my University years. I came in to residence at Trinity in September, 1901, and was at Cambridge until December, 1905. Schechter was called to America in my first year to revive the spirit of Judaism in the New World. During my first terms his influence was strengthened, so that Jewish scholarship was inculcated as another cause. I thought to combine my study of the Classics with Hebrew studies, by way of interpreting the Hellenistic-Jewish literature and philosophy. That desire took shape later in the writing of three books, prompted by Schechter, for the Jewish Publication Society of America, on the philosopher, Philo Judaeus of Alexandria, the renegade historian, Josephus, and the larger subject of Jewish Hellenism. For four years at Cambridge, however, I stuck to the normal classical studies. We had two inspiring teachers at Trinity, Henry Jackson, who lectured to us on classical

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philosophy, and after my time became Regius Professor of Greek ; and A. W. Verrall, who lectured on Greek and Latin Literature and stimulated us with his heretical ideas. He was to become the first Professor of English Literature at the University. It was a striking comment on the conservatism of the schools at Cambridge that, while the University maintained two chairs of Arabic, no chair of our literature existed, and the only lectures on that literature were given by visiting Americans.

Jackson had a Socratic quality, and seemed physically to be a reincarnation of Socrates. Verrall, who often lectured to us stretched on an invalid chair, wheeled into the classroom, had an infectious vivacity, the more impressive because it was the triumph of mind over body. He made us question any conventional interpretation ; and the lectures which he gave to supplement those of Sir Richard Jebb, Regius Professor of Greek, were illuminating examples of criticism. If broadcasting had been invented in his day, he could have done more than any man to stir interest in Greek studies in the mass of the people. For he had a voice which forced his listeners to attend. At that time compulsory Greek in the Little-go examination at Cambridge was a burning question. Throughout the controversy nobody, as far as I remember, suggested the introduction of compulsory Physics or physiology. The idea of a scientific humanism was hardly conceived.

Among contemporaries at Cambridge many, of course, achieved distinction. Of the classical scholars of my year at Trinity Kenneth Freeman died very young, after writing a notable book on Greek Education ; another, C. E. Stuart, was killed in the War ; Walter Lamb was to become the Secretary of the Royal Academy of Art. Two scholars of the following year were more known—D. S. Robertson, who became Regius Professor of Greek at the University, and St. John Philby, with whom I was associated years afterwards in Palestine. At College Philby gave signs of that pugnacity which marked his

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later career, but then in the innocuous form of boxing. When he came to the work of the Government, that pugnacity made him a trial to the authorities above him and his associates under him. The intellectual set in Trinity was a small group in which Lytton Strachey, Leonard Woolf, Toby Stephen, the son of Sir Leslie Stephen, and Clive Bell, were prominent. They were iconoclasts, pulling down graven images, whether of politics, religion, philosophy, or art. In the jargon of a later day, they "debunked". I was only on the fringe of that group, and a member of a Sunday Essay Society which was less distinguished. Of our papers it was said by one of the more orthodox thinkers that they were a kind of puppyism converted into dogmatism. A don to whom we looked up in that Society was E. G. Browne, one of the two Professors of Arabic, who was the finest of men to look at and brimful of sympathy for the Eastern peoples.

I met the intellectuals, both graduate and undergraduate, in a Football Club of Trinity known as the Scythians. It was formed for the purpose of providing a game for men who liked to play but were not good enough for College teams, and it included varied talents ; amongst the Dons, G. H. Hardy, James Jeans, and George Trevelyan, Francis Cornford, and Ernest Harrison ; amongst the undergraduates, several of those I have named, and A. A. Milne, who was then developing his talents as editor of the *Granta*. I spoke occasionally at debates in the Union, but never gained any confidence. The big figure there was Edwin Montagu, who was planning his political career. He had many talents and gifts, but not that of popularity. It was only after three or four attempts that he was elected as Secretary, the necessary step to the Presidency ; and that only after a tie with an Indian student of St. John's College. But once he had reached that first rung, he climbed steadily and quickly, and was adopted as Liberal candidate for Cambridge Town before he left the University.

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He revolutionized the arrangement of the Union as a Club, bringing inherited financial talent to bear. The President of the Union who was recognized as towering intellectually above the rest, was J. M. Keynes. I noted when I read Macaulay's life how difficult it is to appreciate at the University the men who are to be leaders of their generation. In his old age Macaulay staying at Trinity recorded that he was delighted by the society of two undergraduates who were of unusual distinction. One of them was Montagu Butler, who was the Master of Trinity in my years ; the other was Vaughan-Hawkins, who, when I was called to the Bar, was a respected Junior in the Chancery Courts and an authority on the Law of Wills, but that was all.

A famous Cambridge character with whom I was thrown together, because his rooms were on the same staircase in Nevile's Court, was Horace de Vere Cole (the brother-in-law of Neville Chamberlain). He was the arch practical joker, who staged the escapades of the pseudo-Sultan of Zanzibar—twice.

For a term I was the Secretary of the University Liberal Club. The Tariff Reform controversy was the big political issue in those years, and about that we were well primed, first by a course given by Dr. Cunningham, the economic historian who, professing to be academic, was led on to advocacy of Joseph Chamberlain : and then by a course in defence of Free Trade, given by A. C. Pigou, then a young don, Mactaggart, straying from his metaphysics, and H. O. Meredith. Pigou's three lectures were a devastating criticism of the protection policy. Metaphysics in simple doses was popular ; and Mactaggart, a dialectical Hegelian, gave a course which was attended by hundreds.

The Musical Club gave abundant opportunity for Chamber music ; and its President, Dr. Sedley Taylor, who was my neighbour in Nevile's Court, inoculated me with his passion for Handel and Bach. My first journalistic job was to be musical critic for the *Cambridge Review*.

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That gave me the means of hearing the big musicians who regularly came to play in the frigid spaces of the Guildhall. Amongst my musical contemporaries Clive Carey was brilliant as a pianist, singer, and actor, and the darling of all the women, and some men, in and around Cambridge who loved art.

I cherished the hope of a Fellowship at Trinity, and intended to stay up a fifth year and write a thesis upon the philosophy of Philo-Judaeus. But after the examination of the second part of the Classical Tripos—when all the men were beaten by a woman scholar of Newnham, my chances were doubtful, and I vacillated. My father, who had himself changed from the Solicitors' to the Barristers' branch, was set on my going to the Bar, and I was persuaded to read international law for a term, and then start on preparation for the Bar examinations in London. Since my childhood I had vague longings to be a judge in scarlet and ermine. And the show of the Judges of Assize at Cambridge, as they entered and left the royal lodgings at Trinity College, preceded by trumpeters and marshal, made the legal career alluring.

That term brought me into relations with Professor Westlake who was to be another influence and start another cause: of international justice. He was an old and physically tottering man, but possessed with a fire for the establishment of law in the relations between States and a champion of justice in every national issue. As Whewell Scholar for the next two years I kept in close touch with him, the Whewell Professor; and he helped me, with his extraordinary generosity towards young students, in the publication of two Prize Essays. Later he asked me to edit his treatise on private international law. That interest, started as a diversion, became my principal pathway to a professional career.

I did not abandon altogether the hope of a Fellowship, and half-heartedly prepared a thesis between the legal studies. I had the ordeal of two Fellowship examinations, with the consciousness that I was not honestly fitting

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myself for research. That avenue, however, was finally closed in 1907, and I was committed willy-nilly to the Bar. In the last attempt I had two disconcerting experiences. The first days of the examination coincided with the Jewish Festival of Tabernacles. I had to be "invigilated" by a troubled tutor, and answer four papers on the Saturday night and the Sunday. The Master sent for me to complain that my handwriting was illegible, and would make it impossible for the examiners to do me justice. He had drawn attention in my earlier years at the College to that incapacity, and my father made me engage at Clark's Civil Service College, for an indefinite number of lessons in handwriting, till I was cured. But after a bit I could not face the giggling audience of young women preparing for the Post Office service, who were having lessons in shorthand and laughed at the pothooks and strokes to which I was set. My writing then remained intractable.

During the summer of 1905 I spent a holiday with a Cambridge friend at Heidelberg University, with a view to acquire some knowledge of German law, attend courses of German jurists, and get an idea of German University life. The most distinguished of the legal Professors I heard was Jellinek, son of a famous Rabbi of Vienna, but himself baptised. I was conscious of a certain feeling of ashamedness on his part with a Jew of a foreign country; but I enjoyed the intimacy of his "*Seminar*". When lecturing on the English Constitution, he turned to me and asked: "Of whose will is the House of Lords representative?" I muttered that it was no longer a representative House, and was told that was an "echt" English answer. The big man of Heidelberg was then Professor Windelband, the Hegelian philosopher. In appearance he was unimpressive, and he walked on to the dais like a waddling duck; but his lectures were oratorical displays, and attended by hundreds of students. I enjoyed the showy and gay life of the Korps; and as the head of one had been at Cambridge and a member

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of the Musical Club, I was given the freedom of their Society, and went with them to their sword-duels in the Inn in the Hirschgasse, and to their beer-drinkings (Kneipes) in their magnificent club rooms. The deliberate cult of savagery in a duel was symptomatic of pre-War as well as of Nazi Germany. There was more class distinction in the student clubs at Heidelberg than at Cambridge ; since only those who could afford to be members of the Korps enjoyed any corporate life. Jews were not admitted to the most aristocratic, and only rarely admitted to the others. The elaborateness of the ceremonial on the " birthday " of a club was astounding. It included processions of boats with lavish displays of fireworks and illumination of the Castle, besides a succession of banquets. National Socialism abolished all that parade and helped towards equality of students.

During a week-end at Frankfurt I was struck by the position of Jews in the life of the city. The best shops stocked their particular articles ; the best hotels had a Jewish paper in their reading room, Jewish charities were scattered over the town. Yet a Jewish phobia was showing its ugly head. There were places which announced that Jews were not wanted.

I was groping between different interests to a point of view which came afterwards, but like most young men I entertained some political ambitions. I was a Liberal, and joined the 80 Club when I left Cambridge ; and straightway plunged into the General Election of 1905-6. I had two activities in that Election as sub-agent ; one in Kent for a Chancery Barrister, Napier (later a County Court Judge), who won the seat on the turn of the tide. The other was for James Gibb, the father of my school and Cambridge friend Eric Gibb, who also swept in with the tide for the Harrow Division of Middlesex. I was to be connected again with that constituency when, thirty years after, my wife was the Labour Party candidate.

In 1906 it was part of my business to canvass the many

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Jewish voters who lived in the corner of a vast constituency that included the suburbs around Kilburn. One who had recently been naturalized asked me if Mr. Gibb was a follower of Campbell-Bannerman. I assured him that he was. "Zen I can have nossing to do wiz him. I cannot stand zese little Englanders."

I continued a desultory political activity for the Liberal party. I had further electoral agencies in the two elections of 1910, first in the Division of Suffolk which included Sudbury (the Eatanswill of Dickens), Clare, and Cavendish, and secondly in a less lovely Division of Hertfordshire. The candidate on the first occasion was F. W. Hirst, then editor of *The Economist*, and too academic to thrill a popular meeting. I was invited to be the candidate for a hopeless Division—from the Liberal point of view—St. George's, Hanover Square. Not even the thought that I should be following John Stuart Mill if I were elected could make it seem worth while.

I was half-hearted in my political ambition, subject subconsciously, perhaps, to a constant recoil, because of competing causes. My leanings, too, trended steadily away from the Liberal Party to more radical views. That trend was encouraged by another diversion, which led me to reside for two years in the East End of London in a settlement.

While I was at Cambridge, I spent part of two summer vacations at Toynbee Hall. Canon Barnett was still the Warden. Talking and, still more, walking with him in Whitechapel could not fail to make a deep impression on any undergraduate who had a glimmering of social sense. Here, one felt, was a mission; I could satisfy my longing to work for the Jewish people, and at the same time do a little service in connection with the social problems. So I would spend some weeks visiting homes in connection with the Children's Country Holiday, or with aftercare from school, attend the Poor Man's Lawyer; lecture to one or other of the Societies for which the Hall in Commercial Street was a mecca;

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or, what was pleasanter, play my fiddle to amuse them. A few of us talked about founding a branch Jewish Settlement. The late Robert Sebag-Montefiore was one of the conspirators ; and we agreed that, when we left the University, we would start and have as our Warden a Jewish veteran of Toynbee, Harry S. Lewis. He had been a resident for over twenty years, and he appears in Zangwill's *Children of the Ghetto* as the idealistic son from a wealthy home who dwells among the poor of his people. He was a Borough Councillor of Whitechapel, and in that capacity overhauled the rating of the public-houses, until one of the publicans in distress exclaimed to another, " You know, we have Shylock Holmes on this Assessment Committee."

There were hitches in the arrangements, and it was not till 1907 that we were ready to launch out. We rented two houses from the London Hospital in Philpot Street, and five of us took up residence. But Sebag-Montefiore thought better of it, and Harry Lewis at the last moment failed us. He suddenly announced that he was to be married and was to be Minister of a Congregation in Manchester. Our little wardenless band included Mortimer Epstein, later the editor of *The Statesman's Year Book* and the Annual Register, Leon Simon, an enthusiastic Zionist, who was to rise high in the Civil Service at the Post Office ; Jack Myers, son of the editor of the *Jewish Chronicle* ; and, off and on, Harry Sacher, who was then leader-writer for the *Daily News*. I kept a foot in Toynbee at the Poor Man's Lawyer, where together with John Maude (afterwards Legal Adviser and Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Health), I would sift the odds and ends of petitioners and claimants for the final advice.

Jack Myers alone was resident during the day ; the rest of us had our vocations, and devoted our evenings to the clubs and the societies of our neighbourhood. We could not make our home as attractive as Toynbee, and in that we were at a disadvantage. We sallied out

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for the most part instead of drawing in. Years later, when Wyndham Deedes set up his home in a Georgian mansion in Bethnal Green and made it a centre for the social life of the Borough, I learned that that was the better way. One of my recollections from the settlement was the Siege of Sydney Street, round the corner, when Winston Churchill, then Home Secretary, personally directed operations of the police against a nest of foreign desperadoes.

The two years of night life in the East End of London gave me some insight into the struggle of the Jewish working class and into the dynamic energy of its young generation. Whitechapel was above all dynamic and full of ambitious schemes—some millennial, some practical. It was instructive to watch the influence on Jewish life and Jewish training of the English sporting spirit and liberal institutions. The Boys' Clubs and Girls' Clubs, which were admirably run for their purpose of assimilating healthily to English ways the young Jew and Jewess, did not altogether satisfy the cultural leanings derived from a tradition of learning. One trouble in the East End Jewry was that Jewish education was based on ideas of the parents, that had little significance for many of the young generation. The dead hand of the learning of the ghetto was laid on the mind that opened in the English school; and usually with adolescence came revolt. The Jew of the old generation appeared to the young to be an old-clothes dealer in culture. A new and lively inspiration for many of them was found in the Zionist ideal. Neither the old orthodoxy nor the gentle Liberalism of the Jewish Religion Union could satisfy those who wanted a full-blooded cause. The East End was throwing up itself a number of young leaders for its cultural aspirations, many of them Zionists. They were struggling for self-expression, resenting the patronage of the wealthy, writing articles, poems, and plays, following literary or political ambitions. Foremost among them were Selig Brodetsky, embarking on his

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career at Cambridge, where he was the last Senior Wrangler, and Joseph Hockman, a fiery orator, who was to pass through the stages of red-hot Zionist passion to fervid attack on the respectability and complacency of the West End synagogue. We were associated for two years from 1910 in the editing of a *Jewish Review*, which was designed to be an organ for Jewish literature, popularized Jewish learning and the discussion of larger Jewish problems.

These various avocations and diversions were not good for my professional career. I was serving half-heartedly the legal master, who called for undivided devotion. I spent two years of preparation for the Bar between leaving Cambridge and my call in 1908. My school and College fellow, Edward Winterbotham, and I were pupils together in Chambers. Originally accepted by R. J. (later Lord) Parker, then Junior Equity Counsel to the Treasury, we had been with him only a few days when he was advanced to the Bench, as happens to the holders of that office. We passed on to his successor, George Lawrence, having amongst our fellow pupils Herbert Asquith. Lawrence was frequently ill and had not the physical stamina for the strain of office. Very soon after we had finished our pupillage he died, and there was no succession of work for us. When we were called in the summer of 1908, we had to start on our own.

I found work in the Chambers of William Vernon, a sound Chancery lawyer and kindly guide ; and I had a room in the Chambers of another kindly and learned lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, Dr. Ernest Schuster, who was the principal authority on German law. He belonged to a German-Jewish family of Hamburg which has given to England several distinguished public servants. One of his brothers was Sir Felix Schuster, the banker ; another Sir Arthur Schuster, Secretary of the Royal Society ; one of his sons was killed early in the war of 1914, the other, Sir George Schuster, became Financial Adviser in the Sudan and then Financial Member of the

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Viceroy's Council of India. His nephew has been the Secretary for many years of the Lord Chancellor.

Ernest Schuster, who had been brought up a Christian and was devout in the Christian faith, retained, however, Jewish sympathy, and was always ready to talk with me of my Jewish dreams and to help in practical ways. He represented in his conduct and his outlook that international mind and the international sympathy, which seemed in the pre-War era to be a contribution of members of the Jewish race who had ceased to be of the Jewish religion.

Zionism continued to be, during those years, an abiding interest in our home. They were a difficult period in the movement. The first bright flush of enthusiasm in England and the Continent had passed ; despite repeated efforts, Dr. Herzl had been unable to obtain a Charter from the Sultan for Colonization in Palestine. He came to England in 1902, and gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, propounding the solution of the Jewish homeland as the only way of avoiding the spread of anti-semitism in one country after another by the inflow of Jews from countries of oppression. His personality made a deep impression on Lord Rothschild, a member of the Commission, hitherto hostile to the Zionist idea ; and also on Joseph Chamberlain, then Secretary for the Colonies, who had an imaginative understanding. He brought the Jewish home within the orbit of British foreign policy, and there it has stayed. Chamberlain was anxious to show Great Britain's practical sympathy ; and at his instance it was agreed that a Commission should survey the Sinai Peninsula, which was under the administration of Egypt, and examine the possibilities of an agricultural settlement on the threshold of Palestine. The Commission had to report adversely, because it was not possible for the rulers of Egypt to allow water of the Nile to be diverted for irrigation of the area ; and without irrigation nothing effective could be done.

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Chamberlain, still anxious to help, procured an offer to the Zionist Organization of a large area in the Protectorate of British East Africa, which should be an autonomous Jewish home. Herzl, fresh from a visit to Russia, where he was brought face to face with the misery and apparent hopelessness of Russian Jewry, thought that East Africa would be a welcome "Nacht-asyl". He announced the offer dramatically at a Zionist Congress, and found that his followers were passionately divided. Paradoxically, the Jews in direst need, those of Eastern Europe, were almost to a man bitterly opposed. Those who were concerned for others, the delegates from Western countries, were for consideration of the project. My father and a few others were with the Russian Zionists in rejecting any Zionist solution without Zion. For him and them Palestine was essential because of its spiritual significance. The need of Judaism as well as the need of Jews must be met by the Home, and that could be only in the ancestral land. Herzl, already a sick man worn by his struggle, was stricken by the division in the movement which threatened rupture. He died before it could be healed, and before the Commission, which had been sent to East Africa, could report.

The internal fight in England between the Territorialists, as they were called, who wanted a temporary home in East Africa, or elsewhere, and the spiritual Zionists was waged fiercely; and my father spent his immense energy in it. I did not share his uncompromising rejection of the refuge Home; but I had little use for the Territorial nationalism which was advocated by Zangwill and other secessionists. A small group of younger men which included Leon Simon, Harry Sacher, and Leonard Stein, began to take an active part in the English Organization. We were particularly concerned with the cultural aspects, with a revival of the Jewish consciousness and the study of Hebrew, Jewish literature and history. Dr. Weizmann, who was then Lecturer in Chemistry at the Manchester University, strange as it may now

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seem, was one of the leaders at the Congress of the Cultural section, as opposed to the political, and was one of our guides. A speech by him in those days was the more impressive because he was manifestly wrestling with the English language to find the right word, and had that *difficulté acquise*, which is essential to good speaking. Some of us went as delegates to the Zionist Congress held at The Hague in 1907, and coinciding with the second Peace Conference. Though the sessions without Herzl's lead were uninspiring, we of the West felt a stirring of the conscience in an assembly of Jews for whom the national renaissance was a life's cause. They had a distinctive outlook, and they were brimming with vitality and brains. Our English or American objectivity, such as it was, seemed cold. Weizmann made a deep impression at that Conference by a speech in which he championed practical work in Palestine against political demonstrations elsewhere.

During the week in The Hague I attended one or two Plenary sittings of the Peace Conference. They were discussing anything but peace and disarmament : mainly Conventions about the Law of Maritime Warfare, in which I had an academic interest. It was my introduction into international assemblies of the official sort ; and though, compared with the ardent and intense Zionist Congress, the proceedings were formal to the point of frigidity, the roll-call of the nations on taking a vote had a touch of drama and seemed to presage the Parliament of Man.

A new influence came into our young Zionist group when, at the beginning of 1908, the prophet of spiritual Zionism came to reside in London. He was Asher Ginsberg, who was known throughout the Jewish world by his Hebrew pseudonym, Ahad Ha'am, meaning "one of the people". His name was already a household word in our family ; my brother-in-law, the late Dr. Israel Friedlander, was one of his devoted disciples, and translated his essays from Hebrew into German,

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and my eldest sister rendered a few of the essays into English to make him known to Anglo-Jewry. Ginsberg came to England as the representative of a tea firm, and settled near our home in London. On the Sabbath evening the young self-constituted disciples would gather at his house and drink in the gentle wisdom which fell from his lips. He was the embodiment of the philosopher, the large head towering over the small body, receiving everybody and everything with equanimity and cheerfulness, and combining with the profound knowledge of Jewish tradition the mastery of the best literature of the Western world. In Russia he had been the head of a brotherhood which aimed at deepening the national idea. National fervour was easy to arouse, but in order that it should be true to its mark, it must be based on a full understanding of the ideal.

The Mazzini, so to say, of the movement for Jewish unity, he waged a historic struggle with Herzl who was the Cavour. He gave out his ideas in Hebrew essays, published in a Hebrew *Review*, of which he was the editor. By the clearness of their thought as well as the clearness of their language, they marked a new era in modern Hebrew literature. He was the first philosopher of Zionism, and the first modern Hebraist who wrote exactly, without rhetoric, passion and exaggeration. He insisted that quality must precede quantity in the Jewish movement, and the Jewish National Home could be achieved only through the rebirth of the soul of the Jewish people. So he opposed the purely political aims of Herzl and the Zionist Congress. He was concerned for the ills of Judaism rather than the ills of the Jews. In every living centre of Jewish life a group regarded him as their teacher. But his interests and his writings were not restricted to Zionism. He was concerned to rouse a living Judaism, freed, on the one hand, from what seemed to him the trammels of a dead orthodoxy, and on the other, from a disintegrating assimilation of Christian ideas that were not in accord with the

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fundamental concepts of Judaism. Though his outlook on religion was in many ways contrasted with that of Solomon Schechter, it agreed in the assertion of a positive Judaism. They were twin souls, "except in opinion not disagreeing," contrasted as Carlyle and Mill, the one full of fire, the other full of reason ; but united in an intense ardour to preserve Judaism and the spirit of the people, and to develop its present culture in union with its past.

Ahad Ha'am helped to give me direction in my embarrassment of causes ; and another deciding factor was my first visit to Palestine. That was to be my first travel adventure, and I made it immediately before being called to the Bar and, as my parents hoped, settling in a career. The example of my father's pilgrimage promoted an effort to organize a party of young English Jewry. In the end, however, we were only six. My five companions were Michael Lange, who was to marry my sister Nita and with her establish a home in Palestine ; Leonard Stein, later to be the political Secretary of the Zionist Organization ; Albert Hyamson, later Director of Immigration in the Palestine Government ; a cousin, Albert Löwy, who afterwards made a home in Palestine ; and lastly, Desmond Tuck, a son of my father's friend, Sir Adolph Tuck, who alone did not hear the call of the land. We set forth without any of the ceremonial which attended the Maccabean Pilgrimage of 1897 ; but we were to see the land rather more thoroughly. During those eleven years which had elapsed, the idea of the Jewish National Home had become more accepted, and the National Home itself had steadily developed.

The sight of Palestine, when it was almost bare of Jewish inhabitants in the first half of the nineteenth century, excited a romantic Jewish patriotism in Disraeli and Montefiore. The sight of Palestine being redeemed by Jewish hands, as we saw it, could not fail to excite a call of the blood. And yet I still hovered between two ways, and was to hover for another four years.

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I continued to play on various instruments without producing any tunes, but from that visit in the spring of 1908 my gaze was turned more and more to the East. "No man," said Goethe, "who has been among the palms is the same afterwards." A man's character is determined by his ideas when he is twenty-five years old ; and I turned to the East just in time.

CHAPTER II

AT THE CROSS ROADS

1908-1912

OUR tour in Palestine followed for the most part the conventional paths. We spent a few days on the way in Egypt, where I found Cambridge friends, and had a first impression of the Lotus Land. We rejoined the boat at Port Said, landed at Jaffa, passed two weeks in Judea seeing Jerusalem, Hebron, the Dead Sea, and Jewish villages, and rode through the country along the coastal plain from Jaffa to Haifa. The others of the party returned from Haifa ; but Lange and I rode through Galilee to Tiberias and Safed, and across the saddle of Hermon to Damascus. Looking back to my diary of that first visit to the land, I am struck by two contrasts in the Jewish settlements with the conditions to-day. The Jewish villages Richon, Gedera, Rehoboth, Zicron Jacob, and the rest, either included an Arab quarter or had an Arab village attached to them, and the Arab fellahin did most of the rough work in the Jewish fields and orchards. The Jewish farmer, in those days, was a "Boaz", superintending and directing, and Jewish agricultural labourers were scarcely known. Rehoboth, indeed, which has celebrated its jubilee and was founded by the Russian Lovers of Zion, was a pioneer in the movement for Jewish labour. The village of 500 inhabitants, where to-day there are 25,000, included a Yemenite quarter in which hardy Arabized Jews from the Yemen coast worked. The story was told of one who had acquired his own vineyard and holding. Asked how he had done it, he explained that he saved all his wages, except that he *lost* two Beshliks (equal to 1s.) a week for food.

The other contrast was in the towns. The larger part

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of the Jewish population in Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed (regarded in tradition as Holy Cities), were the so-called Halukist families, who were supported by alms from their European countries of origin, and spent most of their time in study and prayer. Their manual work or petty trade was an accessory to praying and learning. In the younger communities of Haifa and Jaffa there was a different spirit of enterprise and the forward look. But the urban settlement was dominated by religious corporations, and supported by self-taxation of the European synagogues. Palestine was still a country of travel ; and riding on horse-back we had a better picture than is vouchsafed to-day, when the visitor dashes by car from end to end in one or two days. We saw something of the smiling Lebanon, which then seemed much more prosperous and developed than the Holy Land, staying at Beirut Baalbeck, Zahle and Sidon. It was populated largely with half-Americanized returned emigrants. For all of us it was the first view of the East. When to the glamour of the sunny sky and the historic landscape, which appeals to Gentile and Jew alike, was added the romance of an ancestral home springing to new life, the effect lingered. Nevertheless, I returned to my different vocations and avocations in England ; and the competition of activities and the mental vagabondage continued.

At the Bar nothing exciting happened ; and if by rare chance any interesting case loomed, it was sure to be settled. The only big brief, indeed, which came my way had that untimely fate. It was a case brought by the Raphael Tuck Company against their bankers, to recover sums paid on forged cheques on the Company's account, to the value of £40,000. A semi-sordid, semi-romantic story was attached to the suit. The secretary of the American branch company, whose business it was to arrange the business with the parent English concern, had forged a director's signature on the cheques, and in this way, over a period of years, appropriated

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for himself a fortune. While holding the humble post in London, he was living at week-ends as a country gentleman in South Wales, and was adopted as the Parliamentary candidate. A small part of his acquired fortune had been given as a contribution to a Welsh testimonial to Lloyd George. My concern was not with the criminal prosecution against him, but with the responsibility of the bank to its client. Danckwerts and Atkin were the leaders. All was ready for the hearing, with a prospect of two more instances to the House of Lords, when Danckwerts advised the Company to settle, and fixed the terms with Buckmaster, leading for the other side. I almost wept with disappointment at the final conference, and was little consoled by him patting me with his huge hands and saying : " Don't be down-hearted, your chance will come."

I had no better fortune with a criminal case which was dangled before me. It was the defence of two youths of Whitechapel who were charged with a murder. Lord Swaythling, who had been asked to provide money for the defence, wrote to me that he had done so, and had directed the solicitors to brief me. The next morning I found that the case was entered for the sittings on that very day at the Central Criminal Court. I dashed down to the Old Bailey, in case the lawyer was waiting there with the brief for me, to find that he had since some weeks briefed other counsel.

For the four years that I was practising in Lincoln's Inn I eked out my earnings from briefs with legal writing, partly of law-books that are no books, and partly of legal journalism that is no literature. My father was the editor of the *Law Journal*, and gave me paternal preference. Legal writing was, however, to bring me two chances. When the Declaration of London, 1909, that was an abortive effort to codify the law of Maritime Warfare in relation to neutral commerce, was signed by the English delegation and submitted to Parliament, I wrote a handbook upon it ; and that attracted the notice of

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the then Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, Mr. Mackinnon Wood, who had to defend the measure against criticism in the Commons. I was asked also by Commander Eyres-Monsell, a future First Lord of the Admiralty, to coach him in the Declaration. These two connections helped me some years later when I sought an appointment in the East. The other law-writing which helped was a book on the practice of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, at which I laboured with some vague expectation of getting briefs before that august Tribunal. The book did not appear until I had decided to leave the English Bar. But just before I set out to take up an appointment in Egypt, the then Attorney-General, Sir Rufus Isaacs, who had been my sponsor at the Bar, invited me to devil two cases which were pending before the Privy Council. I was tempted to renounce my decision and the post, but in the end rejected the temptation.

Nearly thirty years later I received from America a book with the title *Where Angels Fear to Tread*, in which I found grateful mention of *Bentwich's Privy Council Practice*. It was written by the Canadian woman who in 1930 brought an appeal to the Judicial Committee from the judgment of three Canadian Courts, dismissing her suit, and pleading in person, succeeded. She was the first Portia of the Privy Council ; and she had been helped by the book which, she was told by a university lecturer, " would jolly well get her to the Privy Council." She carried me about like a talisman through the Canadian Courts and the corridors of Downing Street.

On my return from Palestine, and after my call to the Bar, I continued to live for a year in our settlement in the East End of London. Taking a larger part than before in the Zionist activities of the students who, in England as elsewhere, were the advanced party, I became President of a Society of the Students of London University. In that capacity I gave an interview to the Anglo-Jewish organ, *The Jewish Chronicle*. The interview evoked

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a solemn protest by a score or so of the leaders of the community, and made me a notorious character. Adopting the ideas of Ahad Ha'am, I had said to the interviewer that the main work of Zionist students was to revive Jewish culture ; but at the same time they had a pride in their English citizenship. Asked then if Zionists could completely identify themselves with the English nation, I said that they could not be as entirely English in thought as the man who is born of British parents, and descended from ancestors who had mingled their blood with other Englishmen for generations. Jews must have a feeling of sympathy and brotherhood with the Jewish communities of other parts of the world, and must in some degree remain socially separate to be loyal to their religion. The remark that Jews cannot be entirely English in thought, and the distinction I made between Jews and Gentiles born of English parents, roused the ire of the Anglo-Jewish oligarchy. They regarded the heresies as dangerous to the Jewish status because, (a) they would tend to alienate Jews from other Englishmen ; (b) they demolished the argument by which the Act for the removal of Jewish disabilities was advocated by Lord Macaulay and others; and (c) they were likely to arouse suspicion as to the measure of patriotism of English Jews. At that time Zionism was a word which roused both hatred and love.

I thought then, and I have not changed my view, that the attempt to deny Jewish otherness, and to represent that a Jew is distinguished from his fellows only by religious creed and religious practice, is untrue and unworthy. To make political emancipation a reason for discarding Jewish individuality and the sense of Jewish brotherhood was not calculated to enhance either our self-respect or the respect of the Gentile for us. It was what my Mentor called "slavery in freedom" ; the attitude of the manumitted class in Rome. The best English historical thinkers of our time, men like Acton and Bryce, thought that a State is the richer for the

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national individuality of its subjects : and supported the view that the Jew would do his best service for the country of which he was a citizen if he did not abandon his separate culture and historic ideals which make him, in some respect, different in thought. As D. H. Lawrence wrote : "Let us hang on to the sacred differences." The trouble was that Zionism ran counter to the ambition of the Jewry of the nineteenth century, to grasp opportunities of emancipation. But the Totalitarian idea, whether expressed by the Fascist and the Nazi State in an exclusive and aggressive nationalism, or by cosmopolitan thinkers like H. G. Wells in a demand for a denationalized world-society, appears to be contrary to the interest of humanity.

Nationalism, in the sense of the demand of each nationality for political sovereignty, has been a root evil of our time ; but the fostering of group-freedom and cultural nationality has been through the ages responsible for intellectual progress. It has received special development in the British Commonwealth of Nations, which gives a place for the realization of national ideals independent of political sovereignty. Welsh, Scotch, and Irish nationalities, and the younger Canadian, Australian, and South African nationalities are, like the Hebrew, essentially cultural. Each people recognizes that it has a traditional heritage, a language, literature, and aspirations for the future—what Renan called a soul—which it will preserve. Each of these other nationalities, it is true, has a physical home for that heritage ; and the lack of the home had been hitherto the tragic weakness of the Jew. It was the aim of Zionism to establish the home. The Jewish people should have a centre, a soil, and a landscape, not figuratively, as it had preserved them by its tradition through the exile of centuries, but actually, so that it could be creative in its own way. A French Dominican whom I was to know later in Jerusalem, Père Lagrange, had written words which fitted the Jewish struggle : "A religious

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community must not renounce its faith in order not to lose its national character, or renounce its nationality so as not to lose its faith." That conviction was gaining on me during those years of uncertainty and vacillation in my work.

For some years other Jewish interests, as well as the non-Jewish, competed. With a small group, who had been at Cambridge University and came there under the influence of Solomon Schechter, I was engaged in an effort to remove the dead hand from the education of the Jewish children in the metropolis. We inspected classes and schools and advised the bodies that provided the education, from the intensive Talmud Torahs of the East End, where the boys overworked every night after school hours, to the perfunctory synagogue classes of the West End and the suburbs, which gathered the children together for a few hours on Sunday morning to impart to them the bare elements of Hebrew prayers and Jewish religion. We organized classes for teachers, prepared handbooks, encouraged study-circles of literature and history, sought, through clubs and literary societies, to administer doses of adult education. But all said and done, this work was pettifogging compared with the participation in a movement for recreating a National Home. Fiddling in the communal affairs of Anglo-Jewry was not a cause ; at the same time it was not enough for the other and bigger cause to give casual addresses and write casual articles. I was spreading my activities too thin. If anything was to be achieved, I must be prepared for wholeness in one activity.

That feeling was strengthened by a visit which I paid to the United States in the summer of 1909. I went out primarily to stay with Schechter, and to rekindle at his hearth the embers of Hellenistic-Jewish scholarship, which were dying down. At the same time I was anxious to see the conditions of the Jewish mass in New York, and to get some idea of the social work which we might imitate in East London. I travelled on the steerage of

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one of the old Cunarders, the *Teutonic*. It may be mentioned that, while my ticket cost £5, that was more than double the price that was reached some months later when there was a rate-cutting war for the steerage traffic between the lines. It was a time when close on 100,000 Jews a year were emigrating to the United States ; which received " the huddled masses yearning to breathe free ". but most of our passengers were Irish, returning after visits to their families. It was a jolly company ; the jolliest that I have known out of six Atlantic crossings. The steerage passengers had then to amuse themselves ; and there is more enjoyment in the active than in the passive kind. I played jigs on my fiddle for the dancers, and I had privileged treatment in the way of baths, because the story went around that I was a journalist out for copy.

I hoped to be detained in Ellis Island as a rejected immigrant, and follow through the appeal procedure. When, having passed through the pens, where tongue, teeth, eyes, and pulse were examined by the doctors, I came to the desk and was asked about the family to which I was going, the money I had, etc., I replied, not quite truthfully, " No family, and no money." I ought then to have been relegated for further examination ; but disconcertingly a man sitting by the Immigration Officers jumped up and said he had been waiting hours for me, and was to take me at once to a Mr. Cowan. I was hustled out, and taken in a launch to the Battery Point, to find one of the Immigration Officers. He had heard of my presence through the babbling of journalists when we docked, about the journalist on the steerage who was writing up immigration conditions. Cowan knew that I was coming to stay with Schechter and inconsiderately rescued me. After one gasping day in New York, which was in a delirium of excitement, in spite of the midsummer heat, because our arrival coincided with the news—faked—of the discovery of the North Pole by one Cook, I went out to the mountains,

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where the Schechters were staying. The virgin country within 50 miles of the huge town amazed me. Most of my five weeks in America was spent with the Schechter household in the country and the town, but I visited Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, and I saw New York celebrating the centenary of the first steamboat on the Hudson River. The Hudson-Fulton celebration was on a large scale, and it gave me an insight into the melting-pot and asylum of "the Mother of Exiles".

I went to school "exercises", where children of many nationalities declaimed eloquent essays about the Constitution and the inventions of America, saluted the flag, and sang patriotic songs. I saw processions through the main streets where thousands of veterans of the Civil War, looking the worse for wear and grotesque in top hats and black coats, and thousands of younger volunteers, formed in brigades according to their "nations" and origin, carried monster American flags. I watched in the Bowery another procession, something of a carnival with an interminable series of floats representing allegories and operas, and escorted by thousands of German and Italian members of singing-societies dressed in white or red hoods and sheets. The carnival spirit was manifested only in a couple of clowns; and the mass marched in a serious crowd, escorted by a German band behind the fantastic floats. I saw, too, a naval review in the anchorage of the Hudson River and the East River, a natural harbour, which no other of the big cities of the world can match unless it be Sydney. A more original sight which lingered in the memory was the first aeroplane flying down the Hudson River, heralding a revolution greater than that of the steamboat. As I alighted from the subway, people were rushing to the Battery Green, hoots and sirens tearing the air, to gaze at Wilbur Wright in his miracle of a machine, as it then seemed, skimming the air, not more than a few hundred feet up, and the warships steaming down the Hudson River behind him. That

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provoked the first mass enthusiasm which I witnessed in New York. Years later I was to see the monument to Wright and his brother at Le Mans, in French Maine, where they made their experiments in a mechanism that at once linked the world and threatened to destroy civilization.

The Jewish mass, significantly, had no special part in the Hudson celebration. It was not recognized as a nation ; and there could be no doubt about its urge to Americanization. The influence of Schechter, indeed, which had given during the last seven years an extraordinary stimulus to the religious conscience and the Rabbinical tradition, had stayed the anarchy threatening the religious and ethical life ; and his adherence a few years before to the Zionist movement had given fresh heart to the national revival, particularly amongst the students. Zionism, which had been severely frowned on by both the spiritual and lay leaders of the community as disloyal to the American ideal, could no longer be regarded as utterly disreputable when the biggest figure in Jewish community life championed it. Schechter, who withheld his adhesion to the movement for a decade, because he was apprehensive of the irreligion of Zionist leaders, in the end proclaimed his faith, because he was convinced on the one hand that the revival of the national feeling was the strongest bulwark against a disintegrating assimilation, and on the other that in Judaism nationality and religion were indissoluble. His influence had moved deeply a young Rabbi, Judah Magnes, who had been the idol of the wealthiest and most powerful "Reform" Congregation of New York.

I spent a day with Magnes in the Quaker retreat of Chappaqua, and found a man of a physical and personal charm which is rare amongst Jewish males. We shared aspirations about Palestine. He was thinking seriously about life in the National Home, had already upset by his ardour for Zion his Americanized Congregation, and was on the way to leave it for a larger Jewish activity in the greatest gathering of the Jewish people. I made

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the acquaintance also of another Rabbi who was becoming a nation-wide figure and was to be an outstanding Zionist in the United States. Already he had achieved notoriety in the Reform ranks because of his Zionist enthusiasm. He was Stephen Wise, the leader of the Free Synagogue, as it was called. I went to a Sunday Service, which was rather a performance, at his "Synagogue" in one of the big halls. The large crowd had come for a spiritual entertainment and not for worship. No pretence of prayer was made. The sermon was the main part of the entertainment ; the rest consisted of songs by a lady with a good voice, a few Bible verses read by Wise, and announcements for the season. The sermon on "the Melting-pot and the problem of inter-marriage" was an oratorical display, and the appearance on the dais of Wise stepping out from a black curtain seemed more appropriate for the theatre than the Synagogue. A few of his phrases stuck. Inter-marriage is not a solution of the Jewish problem, but a dis-solution of the Jewish people. The Jew suffered not from exclusiveness but excludedness. Wise had then, and always, Jewish and social vision.

I met with Schechter two other leaders of American Jewry, Judge Mayer Sulzberger, of Philadelphia, the conscious aristocrat of mind and letters who had discovered Zangwill, and Dr. Cyrus Adler, then the second man in the Smithsonian Institute at Washington and a catholic friend of scholars. Schechter, at the height of his American influence and accepted as a prophet, towered above his environment. Yet I was conscious of a less welcome difference in his circumstances from the Cambridge days. There he had constantly the company of Gentile scholars ; here he was king in a Jewish scholar ghetto. The separation of Jewish and Gentile society, academic and other, was the price paid for the intenser Jewish activity in a population, which within one generation had grown from a quarter of a million to three millions, and was the second largest in numbers of Jewish communities.

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I returned from New York more quickly and more comfortably than I went, but less entertainingly, on the *Mauretania*, which had just won from the *Lusitania* the speed record for the crossing. The last impression of New York was of human and physical variety : the rush of steamboats, the struggle of sky-scrappers to beat each other, the green patch at the end of the Manhattan Island, the more decisive greens of the Governor's Isle and the Staten Island, the matronly statue of Liberty (befitting the Mother of Exiles), the graceful turns of the harbour, the blatant vulgarity of Coney Island, and lastly the placid stretch of sea gradually absorbing everything.

My visit to America did not bring about any immediate change in my dissipated life, except that I ceased to have my home in East London. After New York, where half a million Jews were living in one square mile, Whitechapel seemed a minor and unimportant Jewish hub, and I was not getting anywhere by the evenings in its clubs and societies. I gave more time to Zionist activities and to the enterprise of editing the *Jewish Review*. That winter I attended the Zionist Congress at Hamburg, which marked a fresh insistence on the practical work in Palestine and the cultural work in Europe. The movement was led by Herzl's devoted henchman, David Wolfsohn, who was solid and shrewd, but had not the magnetic touch of inspiration ; and in England it was not winning any fresh forces among the leaders. Our English delegation to the Conference seemed second-rate physically and intellectually and third-rate politically.

We were a double rump, of English Jews and of the World Zionists, and the chief questions at issue in our party were personal. Most of us had not thought out the Zionist question fundamentally for ourselves. The Russian and the Palestine representatives stood out from the rest by their seriousness and conviction ; while the Western Europeans were often Zionists by reaction, from anti-semitism or from frustration in other communal activities. The German Zionist students gave a gymnastic

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display, and made us realize that, while muscular Judaism in England was anti-nationalist, in Germany it was nationalist. Another entertainment, where representatives of student societies from all countries gathered, was remarkable for the display of uniforms, swords, and Latin shouts, in fact, the whole paraphernalia of the Continental student life, which was incongruous with the Zionist purpose. The entertainment itself was a series of rhetorical harangues about the message of Zionism, and a jingoistic flag-waving Zionism at that. The danger of the assimilation of a political nationalism, like that of other minority peoples, escaped those very persons who embraced Zionism as a protest against assimilation of the Jew with the Gentile. At this gathering Max Nordau, the orator in the Movement, poured forth his scornful epigrams. He denounced the Jewish Reform Movement, its churches without crosses, its homœopathic cure for anti-semitism ; its mission idea, borrowed from the Christian teaching of the Jewish dispersion as a penance ; but he, and other Western European leaders of the Movement, had little apparent grasp of any spiritual content of Judaism.

I passed from the Congress to the electoral fray over the Lloyd George Budget Election of January, 1910, and was brought up sharp by the contrast between the established political institutions of a people with a home and the desperate political expedients of a scattered people without a home. The Election, which returned a Liberal majority, reduced but still adequate, was followed by a reconstruction of the Ministry, and three Jews were included in it, Herbert Samuel, Edwin Montagu, and Rufus Isaacs, the new Solicitor-General. The Jewish thrust to the political front was forced home about the same time when I went to Oxford to speak about Palestine. The President of the Union was my schoolfellow—Leonard Stein—the President-elect was Philip Guedalla, who displayed already an almost uncomfortable brilliance ; and two other Jewish undergraduates, Leonard Montefiore

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and Lionel Cohen, were on the Committee of the premier debating Society of the University.

I planned to go that summer (1910) with Harry Sacher to Palestine, but circumstances prevented it: and instead we went together for a walking tour in the Austrian and Italian Tyrol; and in two successive days accompanied Austrian and Italian troops in manœuvres on opposite sides of the same mountain. My visit to Palestine was postponed till the following year; and I made it immediately after another Zionist Congress at Basle; and in company with my cousin, Robert Solomon. We arranged to meet in Palestine our Zionist mentor, Asher Ginsberg, who intended also to renew his faith on the spot. The Congress was a prelude to the pilgrimage. It marked a further recognition of the primary importance of the practical and cultural work in Palestine. Dramatic changes had taken place in Turkey. The Young Turkish revolution had driven from Stamboul the Sultan Abdul-Hamid; and a Turkish National revival was proclaimed together with Liberal constitutional ideas. Jews were prominent in Turkey, as elsewhere, in the Liberal Party, the Society of Liberty and Progress; and Jews and half-Jews had taken a leading part in the revolution. It was no moment for promoting, from outside, schemes of charters for colonization. At the same time the conditions favoured an extension of the agricultural settlement and the cultural work in the country. Wolfsohn, who was committed to Herzl's more grandiose plans, was replaced in the leadership by the gentle and academic Otto Warburg, by vocation a Professor of Botany, who was taken to stand for settlement on the soil. With him were associated one of the big figures in the Hebrew revival, Nahum Sokolow, of Warsaw, who had been the General Secretary of the Movement, and one of the leading Russian Zionists, Dr. Tchlenow. A sideshow of that Congress was the demand of a Russian Zionist of wealth for the creation of a Jewish merchant marine in Palestine. The idea

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seemed fantastic in 1911. Twenty years later it was accepted as a commonplace.

Robert Solomon and I set out from Basle in August. Our plans had been to go to Salonica and see the Jewish community there, which had recently commanded attention because of its part in the revolution, make our way to Constantinople to consult with the Zionist delegation, and from there by coastal steamer to Palestine. But quarantine, which was a constant bugbear of Oriental travel, forced us to change the plans. We went more conventionally on a Dutch Indies boat from Genoa to Port Said. We did not escape quarantine, and were threatened with a day's detention in Port Said, but the captain of the ship let us spend that day aboard passing through the Suez Canal. The desert seen from the ship at night, as we slowly glided between the banks, gave a religious feeling of perfect quiet. I recalled the enthusiasm of one of the precursors of Zionism for the making of the Canal, which meant for him the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah : "Open God's way in the desert ; in the West they shall prepare a way for him." Moses Hess, the colleague of Karl Marx and the forerunner of Herzl, writing from his exiled home in Paris, foresaw in the undertaking of Lesseps the restoration of Palestine to a centre of world communication ; and he was right. In him nationalism and socialism, the two ideals of the century, were united with a burning desire of his people for a home.

We disembarked at Suez, made our way back to Port Said, and thence to Haifa. We planned something a little more adventurous than the hackneyed tour through the country west of Jordan. We were to ride through Gilead and Moab on the other side of Jordan to Petra. After a few days in the Co-operative Merharia, just planted in the malarial plain of Esdraelon, and the first collective village of Daganian by Lake Tiberias, we took train to Damascus, the terminus of the Hejaz line. We were to travel by that line across the plateau

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east of Jordan to Amman. We armed ourselves at the Damascus Consulate with an illuminated Tezkere, the internal passport which was required, with letters to the Sheikh at Maan who commanded the route to Petra, and also with a heavy collection of silver mejidis and copper beshiliks, corresponding in value to dollars and dimes, to pay for our entertainment in a country where there were no banks. The plan, unhappily, went awry.

We travelled with a motley pilgrim band of Syrians, Indians, Kurds, Circassians, and Javanese to Amman; our fellow passengers alighting from the train at sunset to pray. We rode from Amman to Essalt and from Essalt to Jerash, then primitive villages inhabited by a few Circassians and Arabs. We picked up at the first place a Russo-Jewish agent for Singer Sewing Machines, who knew the Arab and Circassian Sheikhs and insisted on accompanying us. It was open country in those days, without any suspicion of roads and without inns. At Essalt we lodged for the night in a Syrian Catholic Monastery and were placed in a mosquito-infested dungeon, perhaps as a penance, because we said that we were Jews and would not be attending Mass. A day later at Jerash I had a bout of malaria with a temperature; and my companion was unwilling to let me mend in a Circassian hut, but rushed me off through the night in a cart to Deraa, whence we could take the train on the Hejaz line to Haifa. He and the driver were armed, and kept off parties who challenged us. The ride in the cart and in the train to Haifa between them shook the malaria out of me, and my temperature was respectable again. But we had to abandon Petra. I convalesced for some days in Zichron Jacob, spending the time with Aaron Aaronson, who was laying out his Agricultural Experimental Station at Athlit. He had discovered the original wild wheat in the hills of Upper Galilee, and had demonstrated the productive possibilities of the land, in a way to arouse the interest of the old and the new world. The best piece—the one well-metalled

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piece—of road in Palestine led from his Station to the Arab village : he had drained the marsh, cleared the fields of stones, and planted an avenue of palms which rivalled in beauty the Avenue from Cairo to the Pyramids.

Then we visited the Jewish settlements in Lower and Upper Galilee, rode straight down the Jordan Valley from Tiberias through Baisan to Jisr Damaya, and thence made our way to Nablus by the Valley where our 'planes dealt out death in 1918 to the routed Turks. I had more bouts of malaria, which rather marred the tour ; but the appeal of the land as a country to live in was more strongly impressed than on my first visit. The Turkish revolution had inspired a fresh hope and breathed a fresh energy into the country, and the Jews, in particular, were steadily expanding their rural and their urban settlements. They needed leaders from Western European countries who could deal with the officials ; and I thought I could qualify as a spokesman.

One of the striking contrasts with the conditions of four years before was in the Holy Cities, Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed. Then the Jewish population had been composed in large part of the remittance men who, it is said, were poor with Oriental poverty, indolent with Oriental indolence, orthodox with Oriental orthodoxy. Now it included an element of vigorous young men and women who came to work, acted on the principle, *orare est laborare*, were reviving Hebrew as a language and culture, and were living a new life. This new Hebraism could lead to a living Judaism. Everywhere were the signs of a creative ardour.

Whereas three years before I had been taken to the bare sandhills outside Jaffa to see a possible site for a Hebrew High School, now the tree-lined suburb of Tel Aviv with some hundred houses had grown around an imposing, if architecturally incongruous, school-building, attended by over 300 boys and girls. The garden city might have been more beautiful ; it might have had more garden and less city, but those who lived

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in it regarded it as a Garden of Eden. Tel Aviv was developing its own municipal system, and Hebrew was the language in which the public affairs were conducted.

At Haifa the preparations for the building of a Polytechnic were in readiness, awaiting only the firman from the Sultan to build. And a suburb was springing up on the ridge of Carmel around the site. A Hebrew-speaking club was flourishing, a Jewish engineering firm was building roads and laying out settlements in the northern area. In Jerusalem the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, which was designed to revive the feeling for the beautiful amongst a people celebrated in the Middle Ages for its handicrafts, had been established by Professor Schatz. Nearly 500 men, women, and youths were working there, partly in carpet-making, partly in wood and metal crafts, and partly in the fine arts. Schatz had started a National Museum; and the output of the school was going out to Jewish, and not only Jewish, communities in all parts of the world. We came back determined to arrange an exhibition of the work of the school, which was held in London in the following year, under the enthusiastic lead of Gladys Swaythling, Deronda's daughter.

I had the impression that in no country in the world could an individual with purpose and conviction achieve so much as in Palestine. I would come out and live in it instead of talking and writing about it in England; and this time I stuck to the purpose. When we left Palestine, the war between Italy and Turkey about Tripoli had broken out, but we had no adventures on the voyage. I brought to England the fever I had picked up in the Orient, and had to undergo a long treatment to be rid of it. Some friends in Lincoln's Inn attributed to the depression of malaria my decision to give up practice at the Bar in England and go out to the East. Undoubtedly I had a lack of self-confidence, and I knew that this half-living several different lives was wrong. Perhaps the malaria helped.

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Had I been forging ahead at the Bar I should have thought more than once about the migration. I did, indeed, recoil a bit to make my jump. Mackinnon Wood, my friend in the Foreign Office, to whom I presented an application for a Consular Judicial post in the Near East, or failing that, some Consular appointment by which I could best prepare the way, advised me that any vacancy of that kind occurred rarely. But, if I was anxious to be in the East, it would be easier to get a legal appointment in the Government of Egypt. That, too, was the ancestral way of getting to Palestine, and I thought it would serve me. The British Judicial Adviser, Sir Malcolm Macilwraith, wrote that he would see me when he was next on leave in England in the summer of 1912. When he came, he recommended me for a post of Inspector in the Native Courts, subject to certain conditions, including a medical examination. I was rejected by the doctors because of the irrelevant defect of short sight. I persisted, and the Judicial Adviser undertook to sound the authorities in Egypt. He succeeded, and in the autumn notified me of my appointment.

My sister, Nita Lange, and her husband about the same time resolved that they too would go out to the East, and make their home in Palestine, but wholeheartedly. Being more independent, they would go straight to the goal. They had spent their honeymoon wandering in the country in 1910. Now after two years they abandoned their London interests, and my sister prepared herself to be a farmer's wife by a term at Swanley Agricultural College. They were to buy land and settle on it, carry with them some of the amenities of English comfort, and build a Carmelcourt on Carmel. Palestine had become a dynamic force in the family. It was easier for us than for my father to step from desire to action. I had a last minute temptation to turn back when, as mentioned above, Sir Rufus Isaacs invited me to devil for him on the strength of the practice-book

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which I had compiled. But by this time I was firm in my resolve. I handed over the petty communal affairs which engaged me, procured my kit, and turned eastwards. I was to have my home in the East for the next eighteen years.

CHAPTER III

EGYPT

1912-1915

I TOOK up my post in the Ministry of Justice in Cairo as Inspector of Native Courts in December, 1912. I had gone to Egypt with the intention of preparing myself for life in Palestine ; but I must first serve an apprenticeship in the legal service. As in the days of the sojourn of the Children of Israel, Egypt had its flesh-pots. Official life was easy and my duties in the Ministry gave me plenty of leisure for avocations. My principal task, in fact, was to prepare for work later by acquiring a knowledge of the Arabic language, the procedure of the courts, and the Frenchified system of law. I had given an undertaking to the Judicial Adviser, Sir Malcolm MacIlwraith, that I would obtain the Licence en Droit at the University of Paris. Sir William Brunyate, who was one of the legal luminaries in the Ministry of Finance, and did not like the Judicial Adviser—it was the way of high officials in Egypt not to like higher officials—remarked to me at my first interview—“MacIlwraith requires so many qualifications of the men he appoints that he gets men without qualities.”

My first concern was to get hold of the rudiments of Arabic, and to pass the Arabic examination for Government Officers. Knowledge of Hebrew made that easier for me than for the ordinary English candidate ; and I ploughed my way with my Coptic Arab teacher through the Egyptian Codes. In my indulgent hours at the Ministry, from 9-1, with intervals for coffee (which was served whenever a caller appeared), I was responsible for editing the *Official Bulletin*, being the Law Reports of the Native Courts, and the circulars which were sent out by the Committee of Judicial Supervision to the

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Native Magistrates to keep them straight. The inspection and instruction of magistrates were contrary to the principle of the independence of the Judiciary, but were believed to be salutary. I was assisted in the Ministry by a young Copt, William Obeid Makram, who had recently returned from Oxford, after taking a First in the Schools, and was then exceptionally anglophile.

James Baxter, a Scotch recruit who entered the Service at the same time, and I, recognizing that Makram had many common interests with us, had him in our rooms, and thereby roused the comment of our British colleagues. Like every Egyptian he was excluded from membership of the Turf Club, which was the English preserve, and from ordinary membership of the Sports Club at Gezira, which, though the land was a gift of the Khedive, was also a preserve of the English and a few foreign European members. Social segregation of the Egyptians was undoubtedly a stimulus to Egyptian nationalism, particularly with those, who, like Makram, had known a more liberal English outlook at the University. Caste distinctions in the Empire are as mischievous as class distinctions at home. Makram became, after the War, the henchman of Saad Pasha Zaglul, the national champion and founder of the Wafd, was exiled with his chief to the Seychelles, and was Minister in several Wafd Governments.

The normal attitude of the English official was to do things for the Egyptian, but not to treat him as an equal ; and it was an inherent weakness of our rule, both in Egypt and in India, that the ideal of the young was restricted at the generous age. They had no cause for devotion except a nationalism which, as we left it alone, tended to become violent. With my Zionist conviction I could not but feel sympathy with their aspirations. The gap between the ruler and the ruled, or between the Adviser and advised, showed itself in every part of the Government. The normal English schoolmaster—though there were notable exceptions—had little contact

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with his pupils outside the school ; the English official in the Ministry had little to do with his Egyptian colleague outside the office.

Maurice Sheldon Amos was the outstanding mind in the Ministry, and would have stood out in any society. A son and a grandson of Professors of Law in English Universities, he inherited an academic curiosity about every aspect of the Law, and was too brilliant for the comfort of the British Administration. A friend described him as " that copious man " : and he described himself aptly as a perpetual *conférencier*—using the Anglo-French mixture which was the lingua franca. It was in fact his way to throw out striking and disturbing ideas upon Law and Administration. During my first year he was removed by Kitchener, then British Agent and dictator in Egypt, from the Native Court of Appeal because of a decision in a criminal case which upset the British community. He became Director of the School of Law, and appointed me to a post in it. Two years later he was seconded to the legal section of the English Ministry of Munitions, where his knowledge of French and French Law had an outlet. He returned at the end of the War to Egypt as Judicial Adviser ; and in that capacity he held up Allenby's right hand when, as High Commissioner of Egypt, the conqueror of Palestine pressed the Cabinet of Lloyd George to grant Egyptian independence. Allenby told me that Amos was able to impress his conviction on Lloyd George against Curzon's counsels. During the two years that he directed the Law School, from 1913 to 1915, his infectious mental energy, his boyish laughter, and his essential liberalism, which was proof against the enervating atmosphere of Egypt, were an inspiration to his staff.

At the Law School I taught international law and a form of elementary jurisprudence, which was known as Introduction to Law. The weakness of the Egyptian student was that he was not trained to think and wanted his doctrine cut and dried. He was at his best in the

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first year when eager to learn : and deteriorated as he came to the third year, when he thought he knew all that had to be known and could devote himself to politics. Yet he was responsive to any friendly approach of his teachers, and still more to any sympathy with his nationalism. My colleague in these subjects was Frederick Goadby, who after the War was to be associated with me in legal education in Palestine, and for ten years directed the law-classes in Jerusalem. Contemporary at Oxford with John Simon and F. E. Smith, he competed with them unsuccessfully for an All Souls' Fellowship, and successfully for the Vinerian Law Studentship. In order to support his family he entered a solicitor's firm, and disliking practice found relief in a lecturing post in Leeds University, and thence came to Cairo. He stood out among the teachers of the School for his intellectual eagerness and his prolific output of legal literature. The other colleagues in the School with whom I was closest were two Scotchmen, types of a wandering and dominant race ; F. E. Walton, who had been Dean of the Faculty of Law at MacGill University, Montreal, and followed Amos as Director of our School ; and James Baxter, who came to Cairo from St. Andrew's University to teach Political Economy, and after the War was Financial Adviser in Siam and in Burma. "Baby" Baxter brought to our circle something of the Barrie quality—a perennial youthfulness. Both at the Law School and in the Ministry of Justice we had not only Egyptian, but French and Belgian colleagues, who gave official life an international spice. The Mixed Courts of Egypt have been declared to be the most successful international institution after the Vatican ; and the judges of those courts gave variety to our society.

My official post was the reason, rather than the cause or end, of my being in Egypt. I was there particularly for the sake of its neighbourland, "in the love of the further bank." It was the vestibule to Palestine ; or, as the Greeks call the Friday, "paraskeye," i.e. preparation

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for the Sabbath. It served that purpose in more than one way. The leaders of Palestine Jewry were continually passing to and fro ; and visitors from Europe and America to Palestine regularly passed through Cairo. I was in touch with them and also with the leaders of Egyptian Jewry, such as they were, who had been influenced by the appeal of Palestine ; and I sought to kindle a little fire. Lastly I was able to go up to Palestine myself whenever we had a short holiday, and nourish my faith.

During my first year (1912-13), among those who came to Egypt to buy corn or to sell corn were Mr. Ussishkin, the leader of the Russian Zionists ; Ben Yehuda, the principal creator of modern Hebrew ; Dr. Arthur Ruppin, the head of the Zionist office ; Dr. Franz Oppenheimer, who had established the first Jewish Co-operative Agricultural Settlement. Ussishkin's visit to the Pyramids inspired one of his famous homilies : " I stood before the monuments of Pharaoh, and asked : ' where are *your* people and where are *my* people to-day ? ' " Yet it was difficult even for him to arouse the Cairo Jewish audience to any practical action for Palestine. Over 95 per cent of the population of Egypt suffered at that time from trachoma ; and the Jewish population of Cairo and Alexandria suffered likewise from a spiritual trachoma, which made most of them blind to the creative movement at their doors. There was no spiritual leader for a population of over 70,000 ; and Alexandria, the town of Philo, had no use for the Word or for Ideas. Among the wealthy Jewish families who had a position in finance and the social hierarchy, the Cattauis, the Menascies, the Mosseris, the Hararis, etc., only two of the younger generation had Zionist sympathies. They were Jack Mosseri, who devoted himself utterly to the cause of the Jewish community, and Georges Cattai, who, entering on a diplomatic career, wrote graceful French poems about Zion. The rest invited me to their cold palaces, but thought that Zionism and Jewish Orthodoxy were equally " fanatique ". Sometimes I

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thought to present the Jewish aims in Palestine to Kitchener at the Residency, and to secure his interest for the colonization, of which he had seen the beginnings thirty years before. But the opportunity did not come.

During the year 1913-14, three of the American Jewish plutocracy passed through Cairo on the way to Jerusalem: Nathan Straus, the philanthropist and brother of Oscar who had been Minister in Turkey; Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, another philanthropist; and Henry Morgenthau, the United States Ambassador to Turkey.

The three had been at one time opposed to, or at least critical of, Zionism. But the sight of the land and of the Jewish achievement worked with all the beginning of conversion. Egypt offered a good approach, because the conditions of the poor Jews in the Cairo Mousky, and of the rich Jews in the Ismailia quarter, were so wretched, materially in the one case and spiritually in the other, that they were a stimulating contrast to the constructive, creative and idealistic settlement. Nathan Straus came back full of philanthropic schemes for the Holy Land. He would plant there a National Health Centre, a University, and a Sanhedrin; and he lived to see the two former established. Rosenwald, who had been moved in America by the persuasion of Aaron Aaronson to endow the Agricultural Experimental Station at Athlit, was moved to increase the enterprise. And Morgenthau returned with a conviction that the Jewish settlement on the land in Palestine should be fostered. The guide of the Jewish visitor was an essential link: and each of them had a good guide.

My sister, Nita Lange, and my brother-in-law, who in the year of my coming to Egypt had taken a more thorough step of settling in the Jewish village of Zichron Jacob, were the only independent Anglo-Jewish family in the land and were a magnet for our visitors. They had no axe to grind, but were an example of what could be done to make life at once productive and pleasant.

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They made me feel the futility of the compromise or half-measure. The Calendar of the School of Law was studded with short holidays, in addition to the three months of the summer vacation ; and I was able to visit them and roam the country in the winter of 1913, and again in May, 1914.

Before these two journeys to Palestine, I had a short sojourn in England. I had to take my examinations for the French Licence ; and having obtained an " exemption de scolarité " for the two first years, I presented myself for the examination, which was oral. Fortunately I had made the acquaintance of one or two of the examiners before the day, and was indulgently treated when I failed to answer the first question on the Civil Code, about the search of paternity.

On my return journey to Egypt that August, I had lively encounters on the Trieste-Alexandria boat of the Austrian-Lloyd with a young Englishman who was the life of our Second saloon. He was engaged at the time in digging for Hittite remains under Professor Hogarth at Boghaz-Keui (Carchemish of the Bible), and had been in Anatolia for four years. He knew the Turks and Arabs through and through, and prophesied that the Turkish collapse was inevitable. The Government was rotten to the core ; there was no wholeness in it : neither body, nor head, nor character. The Arabs hated the Turks and began to despise them ; the Armenians were always on the verge of a revolution. The Zionists should make themselves as strong as they could in Palestine before the crash came. He was convinced of a future for Palestine agriculturally and culturally. Aforestation would completely change the country. The young archæologist was T. E. Lawrence, then 25 years old, who, in the winter of that year, was to explore with Colonel Newcome the Wilderness of the wanderings of the Children of Israel, and to study topographically the scene of his exploits in the coming war.

My November journey to Palestine was made alone,

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but once in the country I had no lack of company. I landed from a cruising liner at Jaffa. Tel Aviv had developed remarkably during the two years since I saw its modest beginning. The streets were well kept, the gardens full of flowers, the Boulevard Rothschild a spacious avenue, and the High School, the Herzlia, around which the garden city had grown, had a mellower look. Two subjects of burning excitement were the Beilis case, a ritual murder charge in Russia, which ended in the acquittal of the accused Jew ; and the decision of a German-Jewish body, the Hilfsverein, that the language to be used at the Haifa Technical School (which was nearing completion) should be German. That led to a passionate outcry in Palestine and the boycott of the Institution. The revival of Hebrew was an integral part of the national movement, and foreign cultural penetration was resented.

A variety of characters was already gathered in the suburb. One was a Canadian "All-right-nicker", another a Jewish poet turned bank manager, a Russian-Jewish official appointed Russian Postmaster—each of the Great Powers had its post office—in order to spread Russian influence in Palestine, a Russian peasant-woman who had accepted Judaism, a man who brought his family from America and was left forlorn because the others could not stand the dullness ! The recognized leader was Dizengoff, a Russian who had been administrator of a glass factory in one of Baron Edmond's colonies. I sailed the same evening to Haifa, and the following dawn showed the town nestling on the Carmel Ridge which rose, like a wall of rock, behind twinkling lights. On board was an English woman missionary—Miss Frances Newton, with whom I was, in years to come, to have gentle clashes. She had come out for love of adventure and fresh experience ; and I was amused at her concern for my married sister living at Zichron Jacob. It must be terribly lonely there in the Jewish village !

My sister's house was rising, gleaming white from the

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hillside. I spent some days riding over the Carmel and realizing that the best of the Renaissance was to be found in the agricultural villages. That was the true transformation; the life in the towns had still relics of the ghetto, with Hebrew substituted for Yiddish. I drove back to Jaffa with a new type of Jewish woman, the wife of one of the Jewish Shomarim: (the voluntary police of the rural settlements). She could ride and shoot, talk Hebrew, Yiddish, Russian, and Arabic, get on with old and young Jews and with Arab women, and do anything which a man did. She was Manya Schochat, one of the heroines of the Jewish Home to-day.

One other memory of that visit dwells in my mind. The last night I spent in Tel Aviv with Dr. Ruppin, the representative of the Zionist organization, who was an amateur astronomer. After dinner he brought out his telescope and directed it on the moon, which was in its first quarter, and to the naked eye showed a thin crescent of gold. Looking through the telescope I could see the whole orb standing out in a white light from the sky, though thinner than the golden crescent. And looking down on Tel Aviv (which is more beautiful by night), the sight of the moon appeared symbolic of the Jewish life in Palestine. What was visible to the naked eye was a thin crescent of gold; but looking with discernment you might see the whole country beginning to be illuminated, and imagine the splendour of the full moon when the renaissance had spread to the circumference.

Between my two visits to Palestine I made a little tour in Upper Egypt to Assiut, Luxor, and Fayum. I spent two days in the Fayum in an Ezbeh (a big estate) of the family of one of my pupils. The house was without a stick of useless furniture and without a leaf of literature. The head of the family, which was Bedu by origin, having come from Basra, ruled like an Arab chieftain over a thousand serfs, and told with glee how, when Kitchener asked why he was buying up all the land, he replied

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that Kitchener set him an example by acquiring two provinces for the British Empire.

My second visit to Palestine was made with the Waltons. We went the same way, by sea to Haifa, and spent some days on the Carmel. My sister's house was built, another Carmelcourt, which was to be the family gathering-place. The Waltons drove to Nazareth across the Plain of Esdraclon, lying half waste ; and I rode with them to the Pass of Megiddo, which was to become famous again in military history four years later. I rode, too, from Zichron to Nablus by way of Tulkeram, and then drove along the newly made carriage road from Nablus to Jerusalem. Palestine in that summer preceding the World War was beginning to stride ahead. I had an amusing encounter when, stopping at a village for refreshment, I was interrogated by the Elders about my post in Egypt and, with their naïve curiosity, about my salary. Learning that a teacher of Law received the same salary as a Turkish General, they raised their voices in amazement : "Yah Salaam ! Why could not Great Britain extend her protection also to Palestine !"

At Jerusalem we rode up the Mount of Olives—it was before motor cars had invaded the city, and only one car was in the country—and visited the Gray-Hills in their solitary house on Mount Scopus, that was to be acquired two years later for the Hebrew University. Sir John was much concerned about the slum buildings of some of the new quarters in Jerusalem which were a reproach ; and the need of town-planning was urgent. I descended to Jaffa from Jerusalem at night, in the old rumbling diligence which took twelve hours. We returned to Egypt on a Russian boat which had ikons in every cabin and almost only Jewish passengers. Among them was Joshua Hantkin, the veteran buyer of land for the Jewish villages, who had already given thirty years to that purpose, and was to give another twenty.

After a month of examinations at the Law School, I set out to be examined myself again for the final part

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of the Licence at Paris. I wandered over the Mediterranean on the way, and in Constantinople visited Mr. Morgenthau, who had just returned from Palestine. He was eager to help colonization of Jews not only in Palestine but throughout the Ottoman Empire, believing it promised the regeneration both of the land and the settlers. He would be the honest broker between Jews, Turks, and Americans. It was my first passage through the most lovely of straits and inland seas, the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara, and the Bosphorus ; and I noted the peacefulness of the old highway of battle between Asia and Europe. The peacefulness was to be sharply disturbed within a year. The apparatus of war was all about us in Constantinople, because the Balkan struggle was only just ended, and doubtfully ended ; the courtyards of the great mosques were full of arms and troops, and the Bridge of Galata was thick with marching soldiery. The charm of Constantinople at first impression, apart from its incomparable beauty of site, was the cluster of country villages in a historic town.

I talked to a Jewish gathering at the Lodge of the B'nai B'rith in Constantinople. The Zionist organization was then active, and several young hopefuls from Palestine, Ben Gorion, Moshe Shertok, etc., were resident at the Government colleges, learning from the Turks how to rule ; but the Turkish Jews were turning to the United States rather than to Palestine for their home.

Having finished examinations in Paris, I reached London in the latter part of July ; and the War burst within a fortnight. At the week-end when the Archduke was murdered in Sarajevo, and when also the hot Unionists landed in Ireland, Amos, with remarkable prescience, wrote that it was the most momentous event of European history in our time. I had the fortune to find immediately some congenial war-work. Being on leave till the end of September, I offered my service to the Procurator-General, who was dealing with matters of prize. I was sent to Sir John Simon, then Attorney-General, and to

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Sir John Mellor, who held the Procurator's office. I was asked to prepare memoranda for our negotiations with the American Government about the application of the Declaration of London, which defined the rights of the maritime belligerent, and other matters of prize. My leave from Egypt was extended; and for three months I was engaged in legal work more interesting than any that had come to me in my days at the Bar. The men who were working in the office were a most pleasant team, Sir John Mellor and his second, Sir Alfred Dennis, and their assistants, Dr. (now Sir) Alfred Brown, Sir Raymond Woods, now Solicitor to the Post Office, and Sir Andrew Stocks, now Solicitor to the Ministry of Agriculture. During those lively days, too, I was courting Helen Franklin, whom I was to marry in the next year. She had been in Palestine with her parents at the same time as Mr. Morgenthau, and she had been stirred by the country. We shared a cause and an enthusiasm, and we would face adventure there together.

Palestine was coming into the war sphere. We had one night at the house of Asher Ginsberg a gathering of the Russian Jewish "intelligentsia" in London: Dr. Weizmann, Jabotinsky, the novelist Sholem Asch, and others, to consider the effect of the war on the Jewish settlement. It was clear that we must hope and work for the extension of British rule. Ginsberg was the serene spirit in these times—above the turmoil and confusion of events, in character reminiscent of Spinoza, but without the engrossing sense of God.

The Foreign Office urged me to stay in England at the work, and not to return to Egypt. I was tempted; but when Turkey entered the War, and it appeared that Palestine would come within the orbit of hostilities, I felt that I must go back. About that time I was out one Sunday with the "Tramps", and was asked by Acland, Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, to write a note about development in Palestine and Jewish aspirations. That was one of many studies which the

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Government offices were collecting about a new aspect of war aims.

I crossed the Mediterranean without incident, carrying £200 in gold, which I had been authorized to send to Palestine for the help of the Jews in the agricultural villages. In that year there was not complete prohibition of all communication with the enemy territory ; and though Americans took the foremost part in helping the Jewish population, and sent foodships, the English authorities also facilitated the sending of material succour. Back in Cairo I found that the military work for which I was wanted was censoring of the letters which the military authorities thought to be Hebrew, but which were in fact either Yiddish or Ladino, the old Castilian tongue still spoken and written in Hebrew characters by the Jews of the Levant. Reading private letters was a boring business. Its only interest was the revelation of the extraordinary dispersion of Jewish life and of the family affection which dominates and binds together that dispersion. Letters came from every part of the globe to some family or other in this outwardly lethargic and degenerate Jewish community of Cairo.

I found new work in the Ministry. The authorities were preparing for the reform of the Judicial system of Egypt after the War ; and commissions were appointed to draft law codes which should be uniform for all the population. It was intended, too hopefully, to get rid of the maze of jurisdictions and of laws. I was member of two commissions ; for the Penal Code and the Law of Criminal Procedure. Judge (later Sir) John Percival was the chairman ; and we worked away each afternoon, aiming at an original combination of English-French principles of Criminal Law. It turned out a lost labour of love, or vanity ; for the Codes have nowhere been brought into operation. When I was in office in Palestine, I wished to take the draft Criminal Code as the basis of a Palestine Law. But the Colonial Office in the end rejected it because of its Gallic element.

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One other change in the Cairo life was that most of us were enrolled in a volunteer force to defend the country, though troops enough were gathering for the Gallipoli campaign. The Force was dubbed alternatively "Craig's Cripples", from our large C.O. in the Finance Ministry, or "Pharaoh's Foot". We drilled in the Kasr el Nil Barracks; but we never came into action. The political position in Egypt was immediately affected by the war with Turkey, who was still Suzerain. The Khedive, Abbas II, was disaffected and did not return from Turkey. An English Protectorate was proclaimed; an English High Commissioner—Sir Henry MacMahon—replaced the former British Agent; and a Sultan was appointed from the royal family. Naturally the appointment was not welcome to the young Nationalist students; and an early visit which the Sultan chose to pay to our School produced an incident. Everything seemed to pass off well, though I had a trying time lecturing my class for two hours, and awaiting his entry. He was to attend part of my lecture, and my instructions were to go on as usual; but he did not come, for the stairs had been too much. That, however, was not the serious incident. On his way back to the Palace, he remarked to the Prime Minister on the large number of pupils at the School, and the Prime Minister incautiously mentioned that, in fact, there were 100 more who had absented themselves. The Sultan, enraged at this *lèse majesté*, immediately ordered inquiry by the chief men of the Kingdom, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Justice, the President of the Court of Appeal, and the Director of the School. The 100 students, when brought before the Tribunal, told the same story; they had come to the School early in the morning, and a note had been passed round to say that a student had died the night before, and the funeral would leave a certain address at 9 a.m. They went to this address, and found to their surprise that it was the well-known Café of Cairo: "Groppis." They then realized that it was a hoax, but

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it was too late to get back for the Sultan's visit. The story was taken as an aggravation of the offence ; and the sentence was to expel fifty of the boys, and to rusticate the others for a year. That, appeared to some of us on the staff as an outrageous penalty for a youthful ebullition, and we told the Director that we would resign if it stood.

The general attitude of the officials was that the young Egyptians were worms to be trampled on, or impudent revolutionaries who should be flogged, according to some, sent to Aden according to others. It raised the doubt whether we had any sincere policy of training the Egyptians to self-government. Ireland, Egypt, India, and Palestine in turn proved the unwillingness of the British governing class to encourage national feeling in a people which is not British, and is governed by Britain. Amos flung out that we had not formed any conception of our relations to the Egyptian upper classes. We were concerned to provide material well-being for the people ; but had no fair notion of the nature of the Protectorate which we had established. In such higher education as we provided the principal purpose was to produce half-educated lawyers and civil servants. In the end the officials relented, and only a few of the ring-leaders were expelled.

Another worrying incident was connected with the Sultan. A young hot-head fired shots at him in the street, doing no injury. He was tried by a British Military Court for high treason, and a death sentence was demanded. Charles Perrott, who was defending him, invoked my help, and we felt the unfairness of the procedure first in bringing the criminal before a Military Court for a civil offence, and secondly in distorting the law so as to obtain a death sentence. But the effort was of no avail, and he was convicted and executed.

Turkey's entry into the war led at the beginning of 1915 to a refugee problem on a small scale in Egypt. Thousands of Jews in Palestine, largely foreign subjects, who were offered by the Turks the alternative of

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Ottomanization—and military service—or expulsion, preferred the second alternative. They were enabled to come away in American vessels and were landed at Alexandria. The British officials were helpful, and set up a department to co-operate with the Jewish community in the provision of refuge. Some unused Government buildings and derelict factories in the poorer quarters of Alexandria were placed at their disposal, and a permanent camp was established which was to remain for more than four years. Among those who came down to Egypt in the later groups were my sister and her husband, but they went off to England. Miss Annie Landau, the head mistress of the Evelina de Rothschild School, remained. She had been loathe to come away because she was then as much at home with the Turkish Pashas as later with English officials; but Djemal Pasha insisted. She organized education for the large number of children, and soon had an 'Ersatz' Evelina School running, with English and Hebrew as the languages.

The fugitives included 700 sturdy young men of military age, and the Russian Consul wished to send back to Russia those of them who were his subjects. That led to a movement for the formation in Egypt of a refugee military unit which should take part in the Dardanelles Campaign under the British, *or rather Irish, Colonel Patterson, with a few Jewish officers. I wanted to be one of them, and urged with General Maxwell, then in command in Egypt, that my knowledge of languages and of the Jewish people in Palestine made up for my lack of military training. But the civil Pharaoh refused to let me go.

The Unit, known as the Zion Mule Corps, went to Gallipoli and did good service. One of the Russian Jews most active in its formation—Captain Trumpledor—was of the heroic stuff. He was to fall in 1920 in the defence of a Jewish outpost in Northern Galilee.

Foiled in my military ambition, I had to be content

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with aiding, as far as could be, the position in Palestine, where the Jewish and other population was in great distress from the double plagues of hunger and locusts. We were able to get permits for an American ship to carry provisions and supplies, and to send petrol for the plantations and tubes of cocco-bacillus for the other plague, though the Controller did not believe that the bacillus would give the locusts 'a sick headache'.

I came to England in July and was married in September. My mother died in May, while I was in Egypt, and I wanted to be a little with the family. I was not to have that chance again for over four years.

For a time the authorities at home proposed to appoint me as a member of a Contraband committee which was to be established in the Middle East ; but the plan came to nought, and I returned with my wife to Cairo, back to the Law School and back to the Commissions, though both activities had an accent of futility. We had the joys of setting up house in the Garden City, and found friends in the army which had poured into Egypt when the Dardanelles Campaign came to an end. Among them was Hugh Stewart, of the New Zealand Forces, who had been my contemporary at Cambridge, and become Professor of Classics in a New Zealand University. He was to rise during the War to be Brigadier, and after the War to be Principal of Nottingham University College. With a number of the younger men in the Egyptian service, I was looking for the opportunity of military service, and when the decision was made to start an offensive against the Turks and drive them out of the Peninsula of Sinai, which they had been allowed to overrun, and to defend Egypt, not from the banks of the Canal, but from the borders of Palestine, the opportunity was vouchsafed. The army in Sinai would need a new form of transport with camels ; a fresh corps must be formed, and officers were wanted with knowledge of Arabic who could learn quickly to deal with camels

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and camel-men. The Judicial Adviser gave way ; I was released from the School and seconded to the army. It was the end of my Egyptian excursion and compromise, an end, temporarily, to the halting between two ways. I started on an Exodus from the House of easy Bondage

CHAPTER IV

THE WILDERNESS OF SINAI

1915-1918

I JOINED the Camel Transport Corps in the last days of 1915, and was given a temporary commission. The Corps was a new formation, designed to be first-line transport for the troops along the Suez Canal and in the Sinai and Western Deserts of Egypt, where motors and horses were of little use. The camelmen as well as the camels were to be drawn from Egypt. Plans were made from the outset for a big development; the Corps would comprise 30,000 camels divided into fifteen companies, each with 2,000 camels and 1,000 men.

With other officers released from the Government I was posted to a camel camp at Ain al-Shems (the Eye of the Sun), a few miles outside Cairo. From the outset I had Biblical associations. Close to the Camp was the Obelisk which marked the site of Heliopolis (the City of the Sun) and of On, the city of Joseph. We were instructed in the elements of the care of camels and, what was more difficult, in the management of the Egyptian drivers. They had been recruited in the first place, by methods which were like those of the English Press-gang in the Napoleonic Wars, from the villages of Upper and Lower Egypt. The head-men of the village were asked to produce so many men and allowed to use their own methods in doing it. When a number of the volunteers deserted, the authorities experimented with a different system of manning the companies, and called out the men of the Egyptian Army Reserve. That effort, however, broke down at once. The Reservists had little knowledge of camels, they hated the service to which they had been called, and they immediately offered a collective and passive resistance. We British

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officers were almost helpless in dealing with them, and the Egyptian officers who came with them were both helpless and unwilling. In a few days there was open mutiny. Most of the Reservists trooped off to Cairo, leaving the officers to look after the camels. They were rounded up and the ringleaders were dealt with ; but the authorities realized that unwilling soldiery could not be coerced. They returned to the system of recruiting the Fellaheen ; and to make the service more attractive, limited its period to six months. The men were given the opportunity of re-engaging, but the call of the "Balad"—the word from which came our Blighty—was almost always too strong.

The officers had then the burden of continual replacement of the men and of feeling themselves taskmasters, like those who afflicted our ancestors, and the companies could not enjoy that feeling of loyalty which binds together a regiment. A few Egyptians and Sudanese stayed for a longer term. They were the head-men (Raïses), of platoons of fifty, and the head-men (Bashraïses) of the section (200 men). Some were War-veterans when they came to us, having been in the labour battalions at the Dardanelles Campaign ; some had the little knowledge which is dangerous : "Me stoppa one Gallipoli : me not stoppa two."

Our non-commissioned officers came to us largely from the Australian forces. The Anzac Division returned to Egypt from the Dardanelles ; and many volunteers presented themselves from the Light Horse and the Australian Infantry, anxious to join a service where they would have a measure of independence, and could use that knowledge of animals with which Australians are born. Many of the officers of the Companies were military novices, men who had been in the Egyptian Government or in business-houses in Egypt. The formation of the Corps was directed by the head of the Egyptian prison service, Colonel C. W. Whittingham. He was a veteran of Kitchener's Army, a strong hard man who

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had risen from the ranks, with some of Kitchener's qualities, of boundless energy and a terrifying passion for efficiency. Several of his assistants were officers of the prison service ; and that had its influence on the life of the Corps. The Company officers were treated as always in need of supervision and inspection, while the camel-men were subject to corporal punishment if they deserted or committed any serious offence. There was too much " strafing " all the way down.

The camel-men had some engaging habits and weaknesses. In their lines at night they would sing and tell stories for hours together, improvising romances and rhymes. I would peep into their tents and see the assembly sitting bolt upright, in rapt attention of the romancer who spun some topical tale or satire, the substitute for journalism of an illiterate but eager people. Outside, the patrol that guarded the camel-lines would shout every few minutes their moving " Wahid " (One), proclaiming the faith of Islam. They had' a childish vanity, of which we had the first proof when we arrived at the Canal, and they had to take a bath in creosol. The hair of some, apparently black, turned snow-white as they emerged from the bath. They had wanted to pass as young gallants. Then, when boots were distributed to the Company, which hitherto had been almost entirely barefoot, and the new boots were only of certain sizes, all the men struggled, regardless of pain, to prove that these sizes would fit them. They had curious touches of piety. When some of the Raises returned from a holiday in their village, having engaged for another term of service, they brought for the Company sets of shrouds which had been subscribed by the retiring men of the Company for any drivers who might die on the service. They solemnly constituted the shrouds as a "*wakf*" (charitable endowment), and made me the trustee of the Wakf. On the other hand, they were continually stealing from each other, and gambling was the dominant passion. The drivers were paid 7 piasters—about 1s. 6d. a day—

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the Raises 2s. 6d. We drew from the bank monthly about £5,000 for the Company. Part of that was allotted for the maintenance of their families in the villages ; but in the week following pay-day we had regularly to deal with dramatic incidents. A few prudent men would hand me their money to keep, knowing they could not resist the temptation to gamble if it were in their pockets. I would take it, only to be approached the same night, or the next, by a crowd of creditors who had claims against my beneficiaries. I was asked to become a trustee in bankruptcy and pay a dividend. Some of the Raises, and still more of the skilled tradesmen, the saddlemakers, etc., who were attached to each Company, ran a sideline of usury, and knew no legal limit to the rate of interest.

Yet for all its limitations of personnel above and below, my years in the Camel Corps were a happy time. They were not mere military service : they were a Pilgrim's Progress, bringing me steadily eastwards. I enjoyed the freedom of the Wilderness of Sinai ; revelled in the feeling that I was going up, like our forefathers, to the Land of Promise. On the stony, sandy way I was attended by the splendid vision of a Palestine redeemed. We went, indeed, not by the same way as the Children of Israel when they left Egypt, but " by the way of the Philistines ", which they did not take, though it was near. Our course was that of the armies of antiquity, and more recently, of the army of Napoleon, in his dash from Egypt to Palestine. But we were to take nearly as many months in crossing the Sinai Desert as he took days. Our progress was, during the first year, a few days of bustle followed by weeks of boredom ; and we moved not at the camels' but at a snail's pace. That " great and terrible wilderness " is to-day crossed by motor car in six hours. Yet I had always the sense that we were part of the army of deliverance, and that we were getting to Jerusalem. And we were traversing historic scenes.

I was fortunate in my first Commanding Officer.

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Major Blake was the head of the Cairo Fire Brigade, another veteran of Kitchener's Sudan Campaign, and a magnificent figure of a man, 6 ft. 3 in., straight as a ramrod, sparsely built, and with gleaming eyes. He did not imitate the harshness of his superior commanders, but he suffered not a little under it. His own attitude both to his British officers and non-commissioned officers, and to the Egyptian men, was human. Above all he had a thorough knowledge of the men, the animals, and the equipment.

Our Company moved out from Ain al-Shems to Tel el-Kabir in February, 1916. Our first camping-place was at Salhieh in the Delta, which was Napoleon's first stage when he left Cairo. From there we moved to Balah on the banks of the Suez Canal, and from Balah, after a few weeks, to Kantara, which rapidly grew from a Canal-Station of no great importance to become the biggest army camp in any sphere of the War.

Our work was to carry for the Yeomanry Division engaged in reconnaissance into the Wilderness of Sinai. Kitchener's lightning visit to Egypt in the winter of 1915 led to a forward move. Instead of massing along the banks of the Suez Canal, we were to drive back the Turks to the frontier of Egypt at the northern end of Sinai. We advanced eastwards, with due and elaborate preparation, some thirty or forty miles, to an advance camp at Romani, and by the sea at Mahamdiya : and there spent a large part of the summer months in constant reconnaissance. The places were full of reminiscence of Byzantine occupation. Romani itself had its name from the Greeks (who, in those days, were called Rum). A few miles away were the ruins of Pelusium, which had been, from the time of the Pharaohs, a great city at the mouth of one branch of the Nile, but was now only sand. On the other side a more visible relic of the Roman power, the Fort of Chabrias, was a mine of coins and pottery, but our sanitary corps began to dismantle it in order to build brick incinerators. In August,

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to celebrate the second anniversary of the outbreak of war, the Turks, whose coming was heralded for weeks, made a serious attack on our lines. They advanced from the southern borders of Palestine with a fraction of our camels, and a still smaller fraction of our guns, without railway and without a pipe-line, to strike to the Canal. They were beaten off, and we had days of glorious movement and pursuit.

It was decided that we should advance to the old boundary of Egypt at El-Arish and Rafa, but always with due precaution. We must link up Egypt with Palestine by a railway and by pipe. We should carry the water of the Nile across the desert and the wilderness ; though we supplied ourselves from the many wells which were to be found in the oases and on the shore of the sea, where the subterranean waters of the Nile had flown for generations.

I perpetrated a doggerel about our advance :—

A VOICE FROM SINAI

For us no quails bedew the ground ;
We do not wake to find around
The manna strewn, to give relief
From biscuits and the bully beef.

No Baalam comes to curse our host,
And stays to bless our every post.
We grouse at mess-room and parade,
And curse without extraneous aid.

Yet happy we, when past the sand,
We enter in the promised land,
That flows with honey and with milk,
Of cows, not Ideal of that ilk.

But this at least may fairly boast—
Our tortoise-like advancing host ;
While other armies have destroyed
Tilth and sown, and left a void,

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Where once was peopled multitude :
We Sinai's barren solitude
Have civilized with pipes and drains,
And made raucous with the sound of trains.

My wife, during this year was in England doing war service of various kinds. She had worked in Egypt first as a V.A.D., and then as secretary in the Ministry of Finance till the summer of 1916. She then went to London, and was a forewoman in the Munitions Factory at Woolwich Arsenal ; but having rebelled against the treatment of the workers, left that service to become an organizer of the Girls' Land Army in the Home Counties, and a star recruiting officer. She rode a dray horse at the Lord Mayor's Procession in 1917. During that year and the next she often stayed with Mrs. Humphry Ward in Hertfordshire, and gave her some of the material for her latest books. She was not able to rejoin me in the East till the beginning of 1919.

We moved from stage to stage during the autumn of 1916 to Bir-el-Abd, to Bardawil, with its memories of Crusading Armies under Baldwin (whence its name) ; and finally, on Christmas Day, to El Arish. I had a particular joy in the Festival of Tabernacles in October ; for there was I in the wilderness, living in a booth of palm branches, and carrying out the commandment spontaneously. A little group of Jews gathered together with me for that Festival and for the other Holy Days, some from England, some from Australia, some from Egypt.

One of them was the true type of the wandering Jew. Born in Russia he had gone to Palestine, then in hard times made his way to China as a stowaway, and by virtue of "*chutzpa*" obtained a post in the Customs service. Wishing to be amongst his people again, he wandered to Australia, set up in business there, joined the forces at the outbreak of war, and was eager with me to return to the Land of Israel.

We were heartened with the news of plans by the

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British Government to invade and redeem Palestine. The Zionists had laid before the War Cabinet their programme for a Jewish National Home, which should be a buffer for Egypt ; and a " Palestine Committee " had come into being in Manchester to keep that aim before the Allied peoples. The *Manchester Guardian* was then guided by the great C. P. Scott, and included on its staff Herbert Sidebotham and Harry Sacher, who wrote whole-heartedly for the cause ; and Weizmann, who had been moved from Manchester University to direct a Chemical Laboratory of the Admiralty, had won the confidence of Balfour and Lloyd George.

I had some diversion from the care of camels and camel-men. For short periods I was summoned back to conventional civilization, to Alexandria and Cairo, for work with the Intelligence. The first summons came in April, when my Commanding Officer received an order from Captain Wyndham Deedes, of G.H.Q., to send me to report to X in Cairo. That was my first acquaintance with the man who was to be the Chief Intelligence Officer of the Expeditionary Force, Chief Secretary of the Government of Palestine, and dearest of friends.

At Cairo I renewed acquaintance with T. E. Lawrence, in charge of maps at headquarters, and shyly aloof—with his protective shyness—from the exquisites of the staff. I was sent to Alexandria to consult with Edmonds, formerly Vice-Consul in Constantinople and now in charge of the Secret Service. I was to suggest the names of agents who could be approached for a special effort in neutral countries, and I spent some days ferreting in Cairo. My next errand was in April. Lawrence had disappeared from the scene, engaged in something more active than the study of maps. I was not summoned by the Intelligence again till the beginning of 1917, and then it was for a rather different errand.

I became Adjutant of my Company in the summer, and at the end of the year took over the Company from

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Major Blake. We were the Transport of the Scotch Lowland Territorial Division (the 52nd), which we had accompanied from the Canal. That division and the 42nd, of Lancashire Territorials and the Yeomanry Division, and two more of the Australian Light Horse, were the backbone of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force.

It was a joy at Arish to leave the wilderness for a little, and to be again in the neighbourhood of a town, to see children playing about huts and houses, to have to deal with natives who were not drivers, and with officers who were engaged in administration. El Arish, which had been the seat of Government in the Sinai district of Egypt, became again the seat of Government; and the Civil Governor, Colonel Parker, Kitchener's nephew, sat there in the courthouse deciding disputes. Moreover, the place was the "River of Egypt" of the Bible, the border of the Promised Land.

At El Arish I had a request to come to Cairo. I was wanted to interview a Jew from Palestine who had told a romantic story, and was recommended to the Intelligence by the War Office. He told how he had left Palestine as a Turkish Officer of Djemal Pasha's staff, made his way to Germany, set out from there to Copenhagen, purporting to be on a mission to America, been arrested by an English patrol in the North Sea, and brought to London, where he offered his services to help in the Palestine campaign. It was Aaron Aaronson, whom I had come to know well in my second journey to Palestine in 1911. I was to find out whether his story was genuine, and whether he could give service to us. We spent a day in January, 1917, walking along the banks of the Nile; and I had no doubt after a few hours that his desire was to help Great Britain in redeeming Palestine from the Turkish yoke. He had helped the Turks with his scientific knowledge in their campaign against the locusts which devastated the country in the first year of the War. But he was convinced that the destiny of the Jewish people was bound up with the Allied cause;

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and he and his family were prepared to give their lives for that cause.

I had no more to do with Aaronson's work in the Intelligence or with that system of communication which he worked out with comrades in Palestine. But I was to be with him a few months later in Cairo, when Sir Mark Sykes was visiting Cairo, to concert plans for the deliverance of the Arabs, the Jews, and the Armenians from the Turks. Aaronson had an irresistible eagerness and a convincing knowledge that could move equally statesmen of vision and staff-officers of precision. Besides Aaron Aaronson and Mark Sykes I met, during those interludes at Cairo, Major William Ormsby Gore (now Lord Harlech), who was an officer in the Arab Bureau, and already concerned in the movement for the establishment of the Jewish National Home. A year later he was to come out to Palestine as political officer attached to the Zionist Commission. He emphasized the need of putting forward no political claims. First the population and then the politics. A little later he wrote, however, that he hoped the Jews would receive autonomous rights, and was apprehensive that the Zionists would not rise to all the new possibilities.

After a few lotus days in Cairo I returned to my Company at El Arish, and had as my companion, in what was known as the Milk and Honey Express, a New Zealand Colonel, Mackay, who was enthusiastic about the literal fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy. We were preparing the way for the return of Israel. He quoted the verse : " On that day there shall be a highway from Egypt into Syria, and the Syrians shall come to Egypt, and the Egyptians to Syria ; and Israel shall be the third with Egypt and Syria, a blessing in the midst of the land." ¹

During those first months of 1917 we made our way, stage by stage, along the strip of the sown twixt the desert and the sea, camping in turn at El Burj, recalling in its name the Crusaders ; and at Rafa, which had

¹ The text says " Assyria ", but he allowed himself a believer's licence.

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been the scene of famous battles in antiquity and was the boundary at the outbreak of war between Egypt and Turkey. It was the region where Herzl had proposed to establish a Jewish colony when the Charter for Palestine could not be obtained from the Sultan. But the Commission which explored it found that settlement would be possible only if the Egyptian Government would allow canals to be built from the Nile. And that Lord Cromer was unable to concede. I rode to the boundary, and a little way beyond, with two officers of the 54th Division, who were later to attain some celebrity. One was Colonel Brown, a brother of one of my comrades in the office of the Treasury Solicitor, and now Major-General Sir John Brown. He had established a remarkable reputation as a Regimental Officer. The other was Major Searle, son of a former Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and a medical doctor in Cambridge, who was a friend of Edwin Montagu, then Member for the town of Cambridge. Montagu, he assured me, was keen on the Zionist aspiration ; but that proved to be a premature opinion. On all sides I found a growing recognition that the Jews had historic claim to Palestine.

By March we entered the Promised Land, and it was exciting to get a copy of the Army Intelligence handbook for Palestine and Syria, with the prospect that the British Expeditionary Force was to advance to Syria. Everything was full of promise in those months. Nature around us was lovely after the yellow year in the desert ; trees and lakes and greensward and, best of all, wild flowers. We felt that the desert was behind us. Then Baghdad fell to our army under General Maude, and a few days afterwards came the news of the Russian revolution. The Czar had resigned in favour of his son, and the Duma formed a Government. It was not clear at once how that would affect the war, but it did seem clear that it would hasten Russian political and social progress by a generation. Our slow caravan began also to move with more determination. On

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March 25th we advanced through the southern villages of Palestine and the little town of Khan Yunis for a surprise attack on Gaza. Khan Yunis had its Biblical associations, for it is reputed to be the burial place of Jonah, and took its name therefrom. It had, more certainly, its Napoleonic association, for there Bonaparte, getting ahead of his patrols, with his personal escort drove straight into a Turkish garrison.

The attack on Gaza miscarried. We were transporting the ammunition and stores of the Scotch (52nd) Division ; and in the early hours of the morning we and they were nearly lost in a Scotch mist. Of a sudden the mist cleared, and showed a Paradise ; a garden village, surrounded with the greenest green, the lusciousness of orchards, and the spring of downs and wild flowers. Either the mist or the clearing prevented the surprise attack by our troops being complete ; though they made their way through the defences of Gaza into the town, at the end of the day they could not hold out and fell back. The war was to be static again for months. Still, we were in Palestine ; in the land where Abraham had pitched his tent. One night my Company was ordered to carry 50,000 gallons of water from the wells near the mouth of the Wadi Ghuzzeh to ancient cisterns at a spot known as Um Djerar. The spot was the Gerar where Abraham dwelt when he received the promise of his son.

In this setting I celebrated another Passover, which marked the end of the Exodus. I gathered together half a dozen Jews from the Scotch Regiments—Jewish Scots?—and our Camel Companies. We had unleavened bread from Cairo, home-made raisin wine, and local leeks for our bitter herbs. A few days later, while inspecting my camel-lines in the Wadi which was being shelled, I was thrown from my horse which took fright and kicked me. Brought down to the casualty clearing station I missed the second attack on Gaza, which was still less successful than the first. General Murray had been too optimistic in his report, to his own undoing. As my

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wound did not heal, I was sent down the line to Alexandria, and had an interlude for over a month. Most of that time I was in a hospital and a convalescent home at Alexandria, but for the last ten days in Cairo. At Alexandria the company was more varied than at the front. E. M. Forster was there with the Red Cross unit, and came to see me in the hospital. A Cambridge gathering in the house of R. A. Furness, then a Bimbashi in the Egyptian Police, included a young Lebanese, George Antonius, who had been a brilliant pupil at Victoria College in Alexandria, and taken a First-Class in Economics at Cambridge. Antonius was to play a prominent part later in the Government of Palestine, and to be still more prominent in the politics of Palestine when he left the Government. At that talk we discussed the democratic control of foreign policy. It seemed to us that in a Democratic Union of Europe and America, which was then the vista of Lowes-Dickinson and his disciples—preceding the idea of Federal Union in our times—the voice of the people should determine the principles of foreign relations, and diplomacy should be open. Autocracy, we innocently thought, and its secret ways were responsible for the secretive chanceries.

Antonius took me to a French Lycée, which had just been opened for 500 pupils; and I was told that three-quarters of the pupils were Jews. Everywhere, even in materialistic Egypt, the Jew took advantage of the facilities for higher education.

At Alexandria I spent a part of my free hours in the Camps and Institutions which had been established for the refugees from Palestine. Many of the young men, who had come down in 1915 "to buy corn", were enrolled in units of the British Forces. But thousands of the older people and the children had to be looked after "for the duration"; and the Egyptian Government with the British military forces made excellent provision. Miss Landau still directed the education; and the boys and girls from Jerusalem who had been admitted to the

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schools of the community, and some of the young teachers from Palestine, were influencing those schools. With the Hebrew language they spread a conscious national feeling, and infused life into the stagnant Sephardic Jewry.

In Cairo I spent some hours with Aaronson, now ensconced at General Headquarters, and recognized as the authority on Palestine. By force of his conviction he had convinced the doubters in the Intelligence of the value of the Jewish Home. One of his converts was Philip Graves, former correspondent of *The Times* in Constantinople, and now in the Arab Bureau. He used to nurse the bogey of Zionism as a German instrument ; and the battle between the Hebrew and the German languages, which had been fought in Palestine in 1914, had confirmed him in that illusion. I had a brush with him about it in *The Times*. Now he was enthusiastic for the Zionist aim, assured that it would both strengthen and be strengthened by British policy. Aaronson had removed, too, any lingering misgivings of Mark Sykes, who was in Cairo. I breakfasted with Sykes, and he told me how he secured the Pope's approval for Zionism. Convinced of the spiritual import of the return of the Jews to Palestine, he was determined against any premature peace with Turkey, which would prevent the redemption of the subject nationalities.

I returned to the Camels in the first week of June, but not to my old Company or the Scotch Division. I took over a Company which was transporting for one of the Australian Divisions. My Adjutant in my new company was a young Australian from Sydney, Leslie Andrews, who had joined the Light Horse when he was under age, and was bright and eager as they are made, a Larrikin at his best. At the end of the War he entered the Military Administration and rose step by step in the Civil Government till he became finally District Commissioner of Galilee. He acquired Hebrew as well as Arabic, a rare accomplishment among our District

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Officers, and he had the confidence of both communities. Arab assassins struck him down in 1937, as he left the church at Nazareth one Sunday eve. They had marked him for a formidable and fearless foe. His death was recognized by all who knew him as the most serious personal loss which the Terrorists inflicted.

We had a quiet summer, camped outside Gaza, waiting while Allenby, who had replaced Murray as Commander-in-Chief, made his preparations for the decisive attack. But a different feeling was in the air, a determination to advance; and Allenby, unlike his predecessor, was constantly at the front. I filled in the time which was not required for the routine work by writing up notes of my Palestine journeys into a little book which, somewhat inaptly, was entitled *Palestine of the Jews*. The book was published in the following summer, just when I entered the Military Administration of Palestine; and by its title I was storing up trouble. I had another Zionist episode when some leaders of the Anglo-Jewish community thought fit to rake up the protest, which they had made eight years before, about my statement in an interview on Zionism, that Zionists could not be entirely English in thought.¹ It was part of the campaign which a section of British Jews were then waging against the victorious programme of the Zionist-English alliance. To that I replied in a letter reaffirming my faith.

Intelligent Englishmen recognize the Jews as a religious nationality, and think it honourable in them to maintain their distinctiveness and dishonourable to conceal it. This war was fought by Britain partly to vindicate the rights of small nations, of whom the Jews were the oldest; and any attempt to repudiate national distinctiveness was a dis-service to humanity. Jewish Nationalism is the complement of emancipation, not a prelude to assimilation, but a means to a revival of a genuine Jewish influence. The British Labour Party had just included in its peace programme a resolution in

¹ See ch. 2, p. 33.

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favour both of complete Jewish emancipation and of the Jewish return to Palestine. Anti-Semitism had its origin in Germany, and derived its strength everywhere, not from a feeling against Jews asserting their individuality, but from a feeling against Jews who become powerful in the life of the state. And the League of British Jews, which combated the ideal of a national revival in the name of a religious sect, could not disguise the essential wrongness of their standpoint either from their fellow Jews or their fellow Britons. Theirs was a topsy-turvy position : opposing, as they did, on the basis of their British citizenship, the British Government's policy in favour of Jews.

The Zionist idea was penetrating some of the young men of Anglo-Jewry who were in the army on the Palestine threshold. Among them was Evelyn de Rothschild, who was an officer in the Bucks Yeomanry, and was to fall at the head of his men a few months later in the Cavalry pursuit of the Turkish rout. I met him at the service for Jewish men which was held on the Holy Days. He had been influenced in his feeling for Palestine by his kinsman Neil Primrose,—designated, it is said, to be the first British Governor of Palestine—who was also to fall prematurely.

The Service on the New Year's Day had a peculiar appeal. The number and variety of Jews who gathered were remarkable—over 300 officers and men ; some from England, Scotland, and Wales, others from France, others of Russian origin, others from the Overseas Dominions, and from Oriental lands. The hut of the Y.M.C.A. was not big enough ; and we held the Service in an open field under the blue sky, overlooking the blue sea and the blue hills. The reading of the Bible for the day tells of the sojourn of Abraham in this land of the Philistines ; and we had met to bear witness to the faith of the Jews in the fields over which the patriarch ruled as a Sheik. The Hebrew scroll from which we read the story had accompanied the Zion Mule Corps to Gallipoli,

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and come back to Alexandria unscathed. It seemed to us as the Ark of the Covenant to our ancestors in the days of Samuel, when they were fighting the Philistines in this same area. While the scene carried us into unison with the ancestors of our race, a vivid contrast between our band and those ancestors was reflected by a camp of Bedouin Arab prisoners of war at the side of our field. Those dark, untamed, and stern men of the wilderness were outwardly more like to our forefathers than the khaki-clad, disciplined congregation offering up its prayers in the Hebrew tongue. An old English Evangelist, Lord Radstock, whom I met when I was negotiating with the Y.M.C.A. for the use of the hut for our service, poured out his belief in the return of the children of Israel to the Holy Land. It meant for him the fulfilment of prophecy ; he had known Colonel Goldsmid, and had imbibed from him good doctrine.

The summer offered little adventure ; but part of my Company was stationed at one of the historic Tels of the Negeb, Tel El Fara, which was later to be excavated by Flinders-Petrie and revealed to the veriest amateur the spoils of piled-up civilizations. That touch of historical romance was henceforth never absent. Occasionally I rode out for longer excursions on patrol, to the ruined Byzantine cities south of Beer-Sheba, which was the centre of the Turkish defence ; to Khalassa, Asluj, and Kosaima, and a few days before the attack on Beer-Sheba, to Auja-El-Hafir. There to our amazement we found in the wastes a modern township, laid out with German plan, that had been the advance headquarters of the Turkish attacks on the Canal and our positions in Sinai. The region of the Negeb was twenty years later to become a Blessed word, offering the vista of an empty land which Jewish enterprise might fill again with people and products.

The Camels had their full part in the battles for Beer-Sheba and Gaza, and for a week we moved without rest day and night. While we were trekking, the Declaration

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of Balfour to the English Zionist Federation was published ; and we were now not only for the Jewish people but for the world an army of Deliverance. During the autumn months I was engaged in convoys along the coastal plain, and our encampment was moved in stages, from Gaza to Esdud (Ashdod of the Philistines), then to Ramleh. One of the depots to which we convoyed was at a place just outside the southernmost Jewish colony of Kastinia (Beer Tovia). I would steal some hours away from my lines to talk with the colonists who were at their work again and reforming their co-operative societies. Another time I looked in at Katra (Gedera), which I had visited on my first visit to Palestine. The house of an old friend, Shachevich, who had entertained us on that occasion, was now the habitation of the General Commanding the Australian Mounted Division ; but he was going about his work : and his mind, in the midst of war, was set on a project of a Concordance of the Talmud. One day I rode farther afield to Rehovoth, which, under its Arabic name of Deiran, had become the headquarters of the Division. I spent a night at Hulda where the Herzl memorial forest had been planted and, despite the ravages of the Turks, still showed signs of a forest, in the Palestine connotation, which was mindful of the trees. At Rehovoth I was entertained by Mayor Sachs, an Americanized Russian Jew, who, for his knowledge of English, had been advanced by the Army command to that dignity and bore it benevolently. He was a type of that mixture of scholar and farmer, which was the offspring of the movement of the Lovers of Zion and the Talmudical School ; and the years which he had spent between Russia and Palestine in America had given him also a practical sense.

The official historian of the Palestine campaign has recorded the influence which was exercised on the troops by the historic forces of the country. British soldiers could not be untouched by the sacred memories of the soil. He has recorded also the astonishment of the Staff when

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they saw the red-tiled houses of the flourishing Jewish colony of Rehovoth, its synagogues, wine-presses and factories. For its site on the military map was marked only by the name Khirbet (the ruin of) Deiran ; and there had not been a house upon it when Kitchener and Conder surveyed Palestine in the " 'nineties ".

Jerusalem fell to the British Forces on the first day of the Maccabean Festival of Chanukah, and on that day I had my first personal encounter with Allenby. Had I recognized him, I should have asked boldly if he could give me leave to witness the entry which he was to make into the Holy City on the morrow, but I missed that chance. I fell in with him when I was marching my Camels, contrary to regulation, down the metalled road that was reserved for motor transport. On the previous convoy we had been overtaken by a terrific storm, and I had spent a night extricating camels from the bog to which the fields were turned. Many of the men were half crazy with cold and fright, and we lost eleven camels and seven drivers. I explained my transgression to the unrecognized General whose car was held up by the oncoming of the endless line. He ordered his car off the road to make way for them, and walked with me and pumped me about the organization of the Camel Corps. It was only when I came to Camp that I was enlightened as to his identity.

Shortly after the fall of Jerusalem we had news that a Zionist Commission was to come out to Palestine and prepare the first steps of fulfilment of the Balfour Declaration. I had hopes that I might be useful to the Commission and be released from the transport, which began to be wearisome, now that we had arrived.

I did get to Jerusalem for two days a few weeks after the Occupation. It was still a hard-pressed city, which had lost nearly half its previous inhabitants by disease and exile. A large part of the population which survived was being fed by the military authority ; and after the fierce storms that marked that year of the advance, parts

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of the city were a picture of misery and mud. Yet the Jewish population was full of the sense of salvation. Ronald Storrs, the Governor, then housed with his staff in what had been Hughes' Hotel (an unromantic pile on the Jaffa road), was already intimate with every community and every section ; and was full of plans for making the city again the joy of the whole earth. My last night I spent with Mr. Gad Frumkin, the one qualified Jewish advocate in the city, who was to become Senior Magistrate in Jerusalem, and later Judge of the Supreme Court of Palestine and to translate the Ottoman Codes into Hebrew. Jerusalem was dark at night, like our towns in the war black-out. There was nothing to be bought in the shops ; there were no law courts and no lawyers ; a state of innocence reigned.

My company was encamped outside Rehovoth, a few miles from Allenby's advanced headquarters at the German farm-school of Bir-Salem, and I was in the midst of the Jewish villages of Judea and within an easy ride of Tel Aviv. The garden suburb of Jaffa was occupied by the Scotch Division to which I had been attached, and the Hebrew names of the streets were duplicated by names from Edinburgh and Glasgow. The Zionist Commission had arrived, and with them Ormsby Gore and James de Rothschild as Political Officers. They were assisted by two young Jewish officers : Eric Waley and Edwin Samuel, son of the future High Commissioner for Palestine, who had obtained his commission straight from Westminster School. He was dubbed "Nebi" Samuel, because his arrival had coincided with the capture of that hill, the reputed burial-place of the Prophet, which commanded the Jerusalem road.

In February another advance was attempted, and our Camels were marched up the plain of Sharon into the hills which divided Judea from Samaria. But that attack on the Turkish lines by the two Aujas was checked when the British divisions were suddenly called to France to reinforce the hard-pressed English armies. We were

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to pass another quiet summer, while the new Divisions that came from India and Salonika were prepared.

This Passover nearly 200 Jewish officers and soldiers celebrated the Seder together in Jerusalem in the house of a Bokharan Jew. Our gathering was made an occasion of special festivity. The Vaad Ha'eer, the Jewish Council, entertained us, speechified us, and gave each a ring bearing the legend : " If I forget thee, Jerusalem." On the Passover day, after service at the Western Wall, I led men of the parade into the area of the Haram, the place of the Temple of Solomon. Most saw that lovely sight for the first time ; and we all were inspired by the vision of peace between the communities. In those days, while Indian Moslems guarded the sanctuary, Jews, Christians, and Moslems, whether soldiers or civilians, were happy together. We drank that night at the " Seder " service, which was attended by Storrs, to the " Jerusalem that shall be rebuilt ".

A few days after the Passover, I brought my Company through Jerusalem on what was to be my last trek with them. We were bound from Rehovoth to Jericho, and I led a cavalcade of 5,000 Camels across Jordan to take part in the second attack on Essalt and Amman. I had been summoned to see at Headquarters General Sir Arthur Wigram Money, who had been appointed Administrator of occupied enemy territory. He told me that I was wanted for a legal post in the Administration, and sent me to Orme Clarke, who was appointed as Judicial Adviser. I knew him by name because, when serving in Egypt, I had read with gross envy of his appointment in 1914 to be Legal Adviser of the Ottoman Government.

My last Camel trek was strenuous ; the long cavalcade moved down the winding Jericho road two by two, continually held up by traffic until we reached the Inn of the Good Samaritan. We took the camels to water at the Wadi Farah, where an amazing stream bursts out from the limestone hills in an emerald green oasis, and

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where, it is reputed, the psalm, "The Lord is my Shepherd", was written. I led my convoy beyond Jericho to the Jordan Bridge, handed over to my successor, and returned to Jerusalem to become an officer of the Occupied Enemy Territory Administration: my wanderings were over; war had brought me to my goal. For twelve years I stayed put.

THE PROMISED LAND

1918-1920

MY post, in the French-Ottoman nomenclature, was Procurator-General, which was rendered in English, Director of Public Prosecutions. Occasionally letters came addressed to the "Director of Public Prostitution"; others to the "General Attorney". I was deemed by many in that lawyer-free interval to fill that capacity, and to be legal adviser for all and sundry. It was intended that I should sit also as Judge of Appeal in the Civil Courts of the Administration which were set up, but in fact I acted only in that function for the Military Courts. One of my former colleagues in Egypt, Captain J. H. Scott, was President of the Court of Appeal, manned with four Palestine Judges, two Moslems, a Christian, and a Jew. My two main functions were: (1) to assist Orme-Clarke in the judicial organization, and (2) to be in charge of prosecutions, and conduct the more important cases myself. The idea of having to think again seemed at first appalling, but the work was extraordinarily stimulating. A judicial system had to be built up from the beginning. The Turkish Government had thought to make things difficult for the successor by carrying away with them, prior to our occupation, nearly all the Judges of the Courts as well as the Court records and the Land Registers. That was, as it turned out, a help and not a hindrance. They had employed an excessive number of ill-paid judges, and thereby made corruption certain; and their records and registers were riddled with fraud. Orme-Clarke, who had the experience of six months in Constantinople, planning legal reforms and the abolition of the Capitulations in the Ottoman Empire, laid the

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firm foundations of the new system. In place of the multiple Turkish Tribunals with their many members, we established in the occupied part of Palestine, which then extended only over Judea and the south, half a dozen Magistrate Courts, two District Courts, one in Jerusalem and one in Jaffa, and a Court of Appeal which was also a Court of Criminal Assize, trying the accused of all serious offences in the place of the crime. The District Courts and the Court of Appeal were composed of a British President with two Palestine members; the Magistrates were Palestinians.

The military occupant, in accordance with the laws of war, was not entitled to make radical changes in the system; but we were relieved of the burdens of the Capitulations. The Turks, anticipating the War with the Allies, had in the autumn of 1914 declared them abolished. Moreover, no Consuls of the Allies returned for some time; and the one all-embracing Consulate was the Spanish.

The proclamation reconstituting the Courts, which was issued by the Chief Administrator (as General Money was called), declared that they would try all persons without regard to nationality. That proclamation brought me into trouble. I was responsible for its translation into the *three* other official languages with which we were then blessed: French, the language of our Allies, besides Hebrew and English, was established in Palestine. For French I was recommended to a "Professeur", who was a teacher in the School of the Alliance Israelite.

The substance of the proclamation was rendered satisfactorily, but the title of the General appeared as "Chef Administrateur". The posting of the text in the streets produced ribald observations, for it appeared that the French description signified cook and bottle-washer. It should have been *Administrateur-en-Chef*, as I very soon learned.

I remained responsible for the rendering into Arabic and Hebrew of the Ordinances and regulations of the

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Administration. In that work I had two excellent assistants ; for Arabic, Ahmed Safwat, who had been brought from the School of Law in Cairo ; and for Hebrew, Mr. Isaac Abbadi, who held almost uninterruptedly, for more than twenty years, the position of Chief Translator to the Government of Palestine. It was a great pride to the Jewish people everywhere that the Laws of Palestine should appear in Hebrew, and that Hebrew should be a language of pleading in the Courts. The production of our first Court-forms in Hebrew produced the anomalous description of a person accused of a criminal offence as "His Honour, Mr. X". Enthusiasts were insistent on the equal place of Hebrew with Arabic and English for everything ; and woe betide the Military Governor or lesser official who did not comply.

Our Courts were opened without ceremony. I inaugurated the Jerusalem Assizes with the prosecution of a Jewish burglar who was not designed for that calling. He was a Beadle in a Talmudic College, and he made no defence. My attempt to get the Court to deal mercifully with him was rebuffed when it was found that by the Ottoman Law, which we had not yet revised, the *minimum* penalty was three years' penal servitude. The principal cases were against tithe commissions for corruption and bribery, and I conducted a series of these prosecutions in all parts of the occupied country. It was our first attempt to break down the established Ottoman tradition of *douceurs* in the collection of taxes. Maintaining Ottoman practice, the British Administration collected the tithe in kind ; and it was the business of the tithe commissions to assess the total crop and set aside the tenth part for the Government's share. This system gave opportunity for calculated discretion, and I had to prosecute commissions in Jaffa, Ramleh, Hebron, and Gaza.

My chief assistant for the prosecution work was a Syrian from Aleppo, Costaki Saba, of a girth equal to

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Danckwerts of the English Bar and of great shrewdness. If he was not by common repute incorruptible, he served the Administration well for two years.

Another of my prosecuting cares was to bring to justice the murderer of an Australian trooper in the village of Akir (Biblical Ekron). The murder had happened at the time of Allenby's advance in October, 1917; but the absence of the man from the Australian Light Horse, which was riding on in pursuit, was not noticed for some days. The body was discovered months later in a dis-used well in this village. On the demand of the Australian Government no effort was spared to trace the culprit. Intelligence agents were told to gather scent, and I was to pick up the scent and bring somebody to trial. I went down to the threshing floor of Akir and cross-examined most of the adult males of the village. Legend and lying had become so encrusted on the facts that it was impossible to get a sufficient case against any individual. Three men were, in the end, committed for trial, but to my relief they were acquitted.

It was fun going on Assize in our rickety Ford cars and often having to be picked up by lorries. We would stay with the Military Governor and get to know what are in Palestine jargon the "notables" or "localities". For in those days the Arabs were eager to invite British officials, and we had to endure long-drawn feasts, when it was all feeding and no talking. The place of my choice on the Assizes was Hebron, partly because of the loveliness of the surroundings, partly because we lodged there with a former Missionary doctor, Major Paterson, who had with him two young officers: Captain Champion who has remained in the Government of Palestine to this day, and Lieut. Martin, an old boy and later a master of my school, St. Paul's, and a good pianist. I would take my fiddle—resumed after three years—with my brief case, and we would strum at night. Together we organized an Old Pauline dinner at Jerusalem in September, a few days before Allenby's big push. The

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day before the event, the Fast—strangely named—Hotel was requisitioned by Headquarters. The intervention of our Chairman, General Bowman-Manifold, enabled us to get round the authorities, and twenty old boys of the school celebrated together. We found that the commandeering of the hotel and the bringing of the Head-quarter Staff to Jerusalem were a bluff to make the Turks believe that the British army was to attack in the Jordan Valley, so that they would withdraw their forces from the coastal plain :— Q.E.F.

When the Armistice was proclaimed in November, four of us Paulines who had been at school together were gathered at Tiberias. Two others were Jews : Horace Samuel, who was a Military Magistrate till he went to the Palestine Bar and became the Carson among our advocates ; and Leonard Stein, who was then Deputy-Military Governor in Galilee.

The legal work took most of my time, but there were stirring Jewish asides. I did a little recruiting for the Jewish Unit, which was raised among the Palestinians and became the 40th Battalion of the Royal Fusiliers. But that cause needed no advocacy ; almost all the youth of military age rushed to the colours, and many of the future Palestine leaders, e.g. Ben Gorion, Ben Zevi, Dov Hos, were in the ranks. With the battalions, which were a remarkable mixture of Russo-Jewish tailors and shopkeepers from London, young enthusiasts from America, and ardent nationalists from Palestine, came to Jerusalem Lt. Vladimir Jabotinsky, who had been one of the principal promoters. He was always full of big ideas about the future, and had interpreted the Balfour Declaration as the promise of a Jewish State, in which the Jewish Battalions should be the nucleus of a Defence Force. He was prepared for an intermediate stage of a Jewish Chartered Company which should have powers of colonization. He drew up a plan of the Government, based on two assumptions : (1) that the claim of the Jewish people to its National Home should receive

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international sanction at the Peace Conference, and that in all matters of the administration of Palestine a decisive voice belongs to the Jewish people ; (2) that the Powers would appoint Great Britain as their Trustee, through whom they would conduct the Government of Palestine and the task of assisting the Jewish people in building up a national home. At the head of the Administration there would be a Resident appointed by the Trustee Power. The Executive Council should include a Minister for Arab Affairs ; but all other members should be approved by the representative of the Zionist organization who would enter the Government as permanent Under-Secretary for Palestine. Those fancies were soon to be toned down by hard reality, though Jabotinsky retained a gift of fantasy. But during that first year of the military occupation the signs presaged a generous fulfilment of the Balfour promise.

The most stirring of the Jewish celebrations was the laying of the foundation stones of the Hebrew University, which took place on the 24th July. It was the crown of Weizmann's activity in the Zionist Commission. He felt for the University as for his own child, and he had procured that the purposes of the Commission should include the first steps in realizing the project. The home of the University, Sir John Gray-Hill's house and estate on the ridge of Scopus, the site where Titus encamped in his siege, had been purchased in the midst of war. Everyone that mattered in Jerusalem, military and civil, including General Allenby with his staff and the heads of all the churches, all Jaffa that could walk or could scrounge a drive up to Jerusalem, detachments from the Jewish colonies, and a Jewish deputation from Egypt, flocked up on that afternoon. Fifteen stones were laid in the grounds to the east of the house, overlooking the Wilderness and the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea. Those who laid the stones represented the different classes and communities, including the Christian and Moslem communities. Weizmann made the only speech, proclaiming

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that learning was the Jewish Dreadnought; but two telegrams were read: one from Balfour, the other from the French Government. In the evening there was a dinner with General Money and Sir Gilbert Clayton, then the Political Officer of the Expeditionary Force, as the chief guests. Bertie Clayton was the universal conciliator and universal confidant. It was for him to smooth the way for the Zionist Commission with the military authorities. With him was Wyndham Deedes, now Colonel and head of the Arab Bureau, who had imbibed to the full a conviction about the establishment of the National Home as a step right in history and policy.

The Zionist Commission included two old friends—Dr. Montagu Eder, a disciple of Zangwill who yet was devoted to the work in Palestine, and Leon Simon, who had been seconded from the General Post Office for six months to realize his life's wish. Its Secretary was Israel Sieff, one of the Manchester School, who had been inspired by Weizmann. A newcomer arrived in the summer from Italy to charm us, Commandante Bianchini, who commanded a Dreadnought in the Italian Navy—and had a chest covered with ribbons. He was an enthusiastic Jew and Zionist as well as an ardent Italian patriot, and bristling with energy and humour. Two years later he was cut down untimely by an Arab mob that stormed a train in the Hauran.

We had close touch with another civilian group, the American Red Cross Mission, which had come out to bring relief as well as medical help to the people of Southern Palestine. It was lodged in part of the Russian Pilgrim buildings, off the Jaffa Road, where we had placed the Courts and the legal offices. The vast compound to this day comprises the courts, the prison, the Government hospital, and other administrative offices.

The American Mission included several Jews, among them the Second-in-command, Dr. Loewenstein, later the Director of Jewish Charities in New York. Its head was Dr. Finley, who was President of the New York City

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College, and was later Director of Education in New York and Editor of the *New York Times*. He was a great tramper who contrived to walk from Beer-Sheba to Dan in long stages. He and the Mission represented that American outlook which believes in the melting-pot everywhere; anxious that national differences should disappear, and harbouring a latent antipathy to the Zionist aims. They wanted Palestine to be rather a pilgrim's shrine than a National Home. The Judicial Adviser of Egypt, Sir William Brunyate, who paid us a visit, seeing from the window of our office the American lorries and trucks in the courtyard below, remarked caustically: "I see that the American Red Cross is an active body; one might almost say, a busy-body." In fact they were the precursors of a series of philanthropic expeditions, mostly Jewish, from the New World to the Holy Land which repaid the debt of the Bible.

I did not see the beginning of Allenby's big push in September, which was to culminate in the Battle of the Dream and the complete rout of the Turkish front. I had gone down to Cairo on an errand, and when I returned, shepherding two of the future heads of Jewish education in Palestine, the late Dr. Louria and Professor Turov, the face of the land was changed. The area around Lydda which had been thick with encampments was empty; the road to Jerusalem, which had been full of transport, was deserted save for groups of village labourers repairing it. The war had rushed past Judea, and we were left in a military backwater. The Administration was preparing to move to the German Castle on the Mount of Olives, the Augusta Victoria Hospice, which had been the headquarters first of the Turkish and then of the English Army Corps. The triumphant advance moved on each day, and within a week Palestine, from Beer-Sheba to Dan, and all the Jewish villages were redeemed. Two days later, at the Feast of Tabernacles, a crowd of the Jewish mystics, the Chassidim, gathered round the Jerusalem "Governorate"—we had fallen

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into the Egyptian habit of Gallicisms—singing, dancing, and serenading Storrs. The world seemed at last to be rushing to salvation and peace.

Orme-Clarke and I set forth at once to the north to visit the new province, and set up the elements of a Judicial system. We were anxious to avoid the interregnum of lawlessness and disorder which had occurred in Judea. It was an exciting drive in a Ford truck to Nablus, Jenin, Nazareth, Acre, Haifa, and Tulkeram; the road strewn with debris and the litter of the rout, prisoners, happy in their lot, being led, and in each place a military administration establishing itself in abandoned quarters of the Turkish and German Staff. At Nazareth we were shown the room from which von Papen had escaped as our cavalry rode in; at Jenin we drank captured German champagne; at Haifa we set up our court in the German Colony; at Tulkeram I slept in the room which had been occupied on the night before the rout by General Liman von Sanders. Another enemy commander who escaped capture in that rout and lived to fight many another day was Mustafa Kemal—to be known as Ataturk.

We appointed magistrates to carry on. On the way back we rested for an hour at Zichron Jacob, where my sister had her farm. The Colony itself had suffered grievously by the raids of the Turks upon the houses of Colonists who were suspected of complicity in the Aaronson Intelligence enterprise; the Aaronson Agricultural Station at Athlit had been almost destroyed, and Aaronson's sister had been driven by torture to take her own life. To that there was to be a sequel.

Orme-Clarke went down to Egypt on leave: and was not to return. He fell ill with malaria, and after a long bout in hospital was invalided home to England. First I deputized for him, and later was appointed Senior Judicial Officer in his place.

During one of my early tours of inspection I met in Haifa for the first time Sir Abbas Abdul Baha; (he received

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an honorary knighthood, after the Occupation, for his service to the Allied cause), the head of the community of the Bahais, who had most of their followers in Persia and in the United States, but their centre at Acre and Haifa. He looked the prophet ; and everything about him and his house and garden had a studied but appropriate beauty. Though I suspected that he could speak English and other tongues, he spoke always through an interpreter of his Persian. His prophetic manner, however, could not conceal a manifest shrewdness.

On this first occasion, when I asked him to let me have any criticism of our newly established courts and of the administration of justice, he said first that he had heard nothing but praise. When I pressed him, he told of a talk that he had with the headman (mukhtar) of a large village near Haifa, notorious for its unruliness. The headman spoke with admiration of the change we had brought about so quickly. In the old days it was scarcely worth while robbing. The bands had so much to give to the police and to the public prosecutor and to the judge that there was little left. Now we had abolished corruption. They had nothing to give to the police or to the prosecutor, and the English judge required strict evidence before he would convict. So they kept everything every time for themselves.

His influence, and that of a few Persians amongst his followers who were appointed in our Administration, was exercised for moderation and good understanding between the communities. They were one of the few local elements in Palestine that worked to that end. Unfortunately, they had not much weight ; and when Abbas died and his young grandson, Shawki Effendi, almost straight from Balliol College, succeeded him, though the goodwill was maintained and the tranquillity of the Bahai hearth was as complete as ever, there was a sensible loss of authority and of influence on local quarrels. The creed of universalism was not to be the way to international understanding in the Land of the Prophets.

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The OETA in 1919 became four-square. Besides our original southern section, now doubled in area, Allenby established an OETA East, comprising the Arab vilayet of Syria and what is now Transjordan, OETA West, including the Christian Lebanon, with its centre at Beirut ; and OETA North, the half-Turkish Cilicia. The chief officers of the four Administrations met occasionally to devise co-operation in their technical services. But we in Palestine had our special problems ; and we were more thoroughly—perhaps too abundantly—manned with British officers than the others.

The difficulties of peace-making had come, and yet we could not prepare methodically for peace. A memorable Thanksgiving Service on the 17th November in the Anglican Cathedral of St. George was Hebraic in spirit. The lesson was the chapter of Isaiah—" Comfort ye, my people " ; and the text of the sermon was the Psalm " When the Lord returned the captivity of Zion." The Church seemed to set its seal on the promise to the Jews. But after the first fine rapture over the Declaration of Balfour and the triumph of Allenby, we settled down to a long-drawn Armistice, while feud and strife within were steadily nourished by that weakness fatal in Eastern rulers, uncertainty.

A Military Proclamation issued in November, 1918, announced the blessed doctrine of self-determination for the peoples of the Middle East. It was easier to arouse than to conciliate a spirit of nationalism ; and from the outset the Administration found it difficult to drive tandem. The task was not helped by all the new personnel brought into it. General Money had an absolutely fair mind and a firm direction ; his very handwriting inspired confidence. He understood and was loyal to the policy laid down. But he left in the summer of 1919 ; and was followed by two generals, Sir Harry Watson and Sir Louis Bols, who were not so firmly anchored. A financial adviser who was brought from Iraq and was formerly in the Indian political service, Colonel Vivian

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Gabriel, had not so much a bee, as a hive, in his bonnet about Zionism. He disliked intensely the Balfour Declaration, and did not conceal his efforts to thwart it, even to the suggestion of bringing immigrants to Palestine from Malta. General Bols had as Chief of Staff Colonel Waters-Taylor, who had served as Liaison Officer of the four sections of the Occupied Territory Administration, and then conceived grandiose plans of British direction of all the Arab peoples. The Jewish National Home did not fit easily into that programme, and was a pawn that might be sacrificed.

Other officers who were recruited were concerned to administer fairly, without favour and without political bias. Among those who entered the service at the time, and were to play a part for over twenty years, were Colonel Harry Cox, subsequently the Resident in Transjordan, and Major Saunders of the Police, subsequently Inspector-General of the Palestine Force. And at the end of 1919 I interviewed for a new post of Custodian of Enemy (German) property an officer from the Sudan office in Cairo, Major Keith-Roach, who had served in the 42nd Division on the march across Sinai, and subsequently had been seconded to the Sudan Army. He embarked on a Palestine career, not yet ended, which his talents have made dramatic, and his buoyancy and abundant kindness have characterized with geniality. Many British officers came and went ; and it was remarked that the Jewish bodies gave funereal tea-parties when they left !

International politics helped to complicate the outlook. In the cause of self-determination, President Wilson pressed the Allied Supreme Council to send a delegation to Palestine and Syria which should ascertain the wishes of the Arabs and Jews about their future Government. As England and France in the end declined, a purely American Mission came. Its head was Mr. Crane, an ex-ambassador, later to be the enthusiastic friend of the Arabs ; and he elicited a large vote for Arab

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independence and, failing that, for an American mandate. The report was not helpful to the Council which had asked for it, and it began a series of unpublished documents which queered the modern history of Palestine. A more soothing influence was imparted by a political officer who, having been the head of the Cowley Brotherhood and a celebrated preacher, was sent, with military rank, to guide the Administration through the ecclesiastical mazes of the Holy Land, but was not restricted to the particular field which he had cultivated. Major (Father) Waggett said of Jerusalem that it was built with dropped bricks cemented with apologies.

The headship of the Jewish representation in Palestine was changed as often as the Chief Administrator. Dr. Weizmann left in December, 1918, for the Peace Conference in Paris; and in his place Dr. Eder, of England, Dr. Friedenwald and Dr. de Sola Pool, of America, and finally Mr. Ussishkin, the head of the Russian Zionists, were in charge. Of Ussishkin it was recorded that he lived in Odessa at the corner of Iron Street and Stubborn Street. He had a thorough Russian fanaticism for his cause. While he commanded the unchallenged leadership of the Eastern European Jews, he could not get on well with the English official and would never acquire English. It was the clash between the samovar and the tea-pot. He was enthusiastic for Hebrew, "and it was due to him, more than any other person that Hebrew became the sole language of public gatherings. As the head of the Jewish National Fund, he made that instrument for the purchase of land for the Home a household work, and a household collecting-box, which brought in £500,000 a year, and acquired in 20 years 100,000 acres."

The constant changes in the Zionist office did not make for easy communications with the military authorities. The unsatisfactory relations were remarked by a distinguished Jewish visitor from the United States, who enjoyed, not less than Mr. Crane, the confidence

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of President Wilson. Mr. Justice Brandeis, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and a former President of the Zionist Federation in America, came out with Mr. (now Sir) Alfred Zimmern, and though he maintained what was, for Palestine visitors, unusual silence in public, he addressed a vigorous criticism to the Chief Administrator. His reputation both as jurist and social thinker and his authority in the Councils of his country gave cogency to his observations.

Nor was criticism lacking from within the military hierarchy. Colonel Richard Meinertzhagen, who had followed Clayton as Chief Political Officer in Palestine and Syria, was not blind or deaf to evidence of hostility in the soldier Administration towards a policy which had not been explained, was strange to many, and seemed to make their task harder. The opposition of the Arab Effendis, which had already engendered a Moslem-Christian Alliance, was in some places countenanced, in others fostered; and it passed from the stage of petitions (*mazbatas*) to demonstrations and processions. An index to the growing feeling was provided by the trial of a Turkish doctor who at Zichron Jacob had procured the torture of Sarah Aaronson. Taken in Aleppo, he was charged with an offence under the Ottoman Penal Code, and tried by a Civil Court of a British President and two Arab members. In the end he was convicted and sentenced to a term of penal servitude; but public feeling, which had originally been strong against him, veered before the end.

The circumstances were calculated to strain the peacefulness of the country, even if all the members of the Administration had been at heart loyal to the British policy. The Jews, exultant in the promise which had been affirmed by the Peace Conference, expected fulfilment to come at once; the Arabs, promised self-determination, were resistant to any fulfilment; the British rulers in our makeshift administration were afflicted with divided councils and aspirations. In

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Palestine 1919 was a year of vacillation and reaction. In Europe it was a fatal year. The gales of hatred blasted the bright hopes and spread the seeds of disaster.

We were still a temporary military authority, subject to the restrictions of the occupant, as defined in the laws of war. But we had begun to enjoy the amenities of civil life. Some of us were able to bring out our wives, and mine had joined me. Bringing the active traditions of a Land Army to the talking Jewish community, she organized potato-gardens for the unemployed girls. We moved from messes to houses in the "German Colony", which could be requisitioned, the German owners being interned in Egypt. Storrs, always anxious to cultivate the arts of peace, started a Conservatoire of Music and a Jerusalem Musical Society which, having weathered a demand for the primary use of Hebrew, were soon established in the affections of the Jewish people. He brought together also with his diplomatic talents the heads of all the communities in a Pro-Jerusalem Society which was innocent of politics; and he secured for its work a Civic Adviser, Charles Ashbee, a disciple of William Morris, whose mandate was, on the one hand, to preserve and add to the architectural amenities, and on the other to resuscitate crafts that flourished in the Medieval Jerusalem. The Zionist Commission, on its part, brought out Patrick Geddes, a famous sociologist and scientist, whose avocation was regional planning, to design the lay-out of that Hebrew University which was to be the crown of the Hebrew Renaissance.

The Zionists turned also to the improvement of the health service for all the population through the Hadassah Medical Organization, which was created by American Zionist women. The woman who inspired it, Henrietta Szold, came herself to Palestine, after being inexplicably placed on the black list, and was soon to be amongst its most cherished citizens. Another group from America, with a different outlook, came to foster good relations between everybody, English and Americans, Jews and

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Arabs. To that end they edited a daily English newspaper, the *Jerusalem News* (one of several short-lived ventures of the kind), which, it was thought, would hasten the coming of the Messiah.¹ It was indubitably high-minded. It bore two mottoes : “ *Jerusalem News* is good news ” ; and “ with charity to all, and malice towards none ”. Its first number appeared appropriately on the first anniversary of the taking of Jerusalem, 9th December. The American Consul, Dr. Glazebrook, a veteran of the Civil War and a former parson, in an introductory word, said that it should be characterized by the purest spirit of charity, the truest conception of justice, the severest condemnation of illiberality, and maintenance of those principles upon which alone the noblest ideals of true civilization can be realized. The editor declared that his paper, “ while giving due appreciation to the good which resides in all men, hopes to make Jerusalem what it deserves to be, a great wholesome centre for the whole world. . . . Hitherto there have been many Jerusalems ; the time has come to make it one, and to lift that one through devotion and loyalty into the pure air.” Nevertheless, a year after the Armistice was made, Jerusalem was likened, with more realism, to a golden bowl full of scorpions.

The military command, not too friendly to the Jewish policy of the Allies, issued an order to the troops in Palestine stating that, as the Government has to pursue a policy unpopular with the majority of the population, there is likely to be trouble between Jews and Arabs. The visible apprehension led some Jews, fired by Jabotinsky, to form a clandestine Self-Defence Corps, and to obtain arms ; and so at the end of the year the stage was set for trouble.

At the end of December I went on leave to England, where I had not been for 4½ years, and I did not return

¹ A weekly paper, *The Palestine News*, had been produced by the Military Administration for over a year in not less than six languages, of which Hebrew was one. Its original editor was Pirie-Gordon of *The Times* staff.

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to Jerusalem until April, 1920. I missed the seething of the pot, which, in spite of the record snowfall and a most rigorous winter, steadily continued and culminated in serious Easter riots in Jerusalem. Unrest, indeed, was in the air in the Middle East. On my journey to Alexandria to embark, I spent a day in Cairo with Lord Milner and Sir Cecil Hurst, who were the heads of the Royal Commission to prepare for the constitution of Egypt and abolition of the Capitulations. They had encountered a boycott of all the Egyptians. And on the troopship itself the stewards went on strike. During those months Mr. Herbert Samuel, as he then was, went out to Palestine to advise the Chief Administrator on questions of finance and, perhaps unwittingly, to get acquaintance of the country which he was soon to rule. He had written to me in the early part of the year of his interest in Palestine: "Ever since Turkey entered the War, the Palestine question interested me keenly, and the more I hear and read about it, the clearer seems to be the obligation on the Jews of the world to undertake the restoration of the land and the re-establishment of their common welfare. It will be an inspiring task for those who will have to handle it." At that time he thought that the man who would best be able to guide the country and dispose of the differences between the Jews and Arabs was Allenby, who delivered it from the Turks.

When I returned to Jerusalem a week or two after the riots, there was unrest within and without. Military Tribunals were trying offenders, Jew and Arab, and passing exemplary sentences, as they thought them. A Military Court of Inquiry into the troubles had been appointed under the chairmanship of an Anglo-Egyptian Judge, and harassed with their examination the conflicting parties in the service. But their findings were not regarded as fit for the public scrutiny. In the midst of the confusion two dramatic announcements were made. The Principal Allied Powers, at a conference at

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San Remo, entrusted the mandate for Palestine to Great Britain, and included in the principles of the mandate the Balfour Declaration. The British Government appointed Herbert Samuel as the first High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief for Palestine.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONERS

1920-1925

SIR HERBERT SAMUEL

THE arrival of Sir Herbert Samuel in Jerusalem at the end of June, 1920, marked the beginning of a new chapter in Palestine history. The Civil Administration took the place of the Military Administration, and a definite policy of facilitating the establishment of a Jewish National Home took the place of vacillation and uncertainty. The High Commissioner, as he was to be called (because the title of Governor was not applicable to the head of a country under a mandate), brought an ardour and an energy to the work of the Government which were infectious, even in the strangely assorted team of military officers, regular or temporary, Egyptian and colonial civil servants, and Palestine novices. He had to undertake an immense variety of tasks. Every department must be overhauled, laws must be enacted on all manner of subjects in order to fit a backward Turkish province for a progressive development; the affairs of the religious communities, which were for most of the denominations in confusion, must be regulated; the relations with the neighbouring Governments, Egypt, Arabia, and Syria, must be settled; and, most difficult of all, measures must be devised for the fulfilment of both aspects of the policy of the Balfour Declaration—to facilitate the establishment of a National Home for the Jews on the one hand, and to foster self-governing institutions on the other for all sections of the population.

The High Commissioner was able to bring into the

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Administration several new men, some of whom had experience of the Middle East, in key positions. At the outset, he was responsible to the Foreign Office, which was then concerned with Middle Eastern affairs, and not to the Colonial Office, which had more experience of the administration of subject native peoples than of peoples who, in the words of the Article of the League Covenant, had reached a stage of development when their existence as independent nations could be recognized, subject to the acceptance of advice and administrative assistance. Experience showed that the process of replacing officers of the military administration might with advantage have been carried further.

The High Commissioner's principal assistant, the Chief Secretary, was Brigadier-General (afterwards Sir) Wyndham Deedes, who had spent years before the War in the Ottoman service. Apart from his experience and knowledge of the peoples—he could talk Turkish as fluently as English, and Turkish was still the language of authority for the Arabs—he brought to Palestine the gifts of devotion to the wellbeing of the country, and understanding and deep sympathy with both the Jewish cause and Arab aspirations. He was the most tireless and selfless of men; a modern saint who was at the same time a man of affairs. It was said that we had to govern Palestine the best Christian and the best Jew from England. The Military Governors became District Governors—later Commissioners—of the principal divisions of Palestine. Ronald Storrs, who played a chief part in the Administration from Allenby's occupation in 1917, declared by Lawrence to be "the most brilliant of us all", and in himself a Ministry of All the Talents—remained in Jerusalem. The Governor of the Northern District was Colonel (later Sir) Stewart Symes, who had served in the Sudan and Egypt, and was later to be Governor of Aden and the Sudan. The Governor of the Jaffa district was Colonel Stirling, who had served with Lawrence in the Desert Campaign. One veteran

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of the Colonial Service, H. G. Smallwood, was in the Treasury where the tried standards of the Service were valuable. My own post became that of Legal Secretary till 1923, when the more normal office of Attorney-General was substituted ; and in that capacity I exercised a general supervision over the administration of the Courts, both Civil and Religious, and over the Land Registration and Survey Departments, as well as being the Legal Adviser of the Government. The three Secretaries formed, with the High Commissioner, an Executive Council.

A few heads of departments of the Military Administration were retained, notably Colonel Heron, the Director of Public Health, and Colonel Sawyer, the Director of Agriculture. For the most part, however, men more qualified than the casual collection of OETA initiated the social and technical services of the new administration. Humphrey Bowman who had, before the War, been in the Egyptian Public Instruction, and for the last two years Director of Education in Mesopotamia, came as Director of the Department of Education. One of the last acts of his predecessor was to dismiss a teacher because " he insists on riding backwards on donkeys, eating fruit in macaroni fashion ". The Deputy-Director was George Antonius, the only Arab to attain that grade. In those days of determined hopefulness the British Government was willing to appoint to senior positions several British Jews. Colonel Harold Solomon, who had gained a reputation as organizer in the War, became Controller of Stores ; Albert Hyamson, who had been associated with the Zionist Organization as well as with the British Ministry of Information, was the second man in a new Department of Immigration and Labour ; Captain Harari, of a leading Jewish family in Egypt, who had been one of Storrs' assistants in the Jerusalem Governorate, was Director of the Department of Commerce and Industry ; and Max Nurock, who had come out to work with the Zionist Mission, was one of the

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Private Secretaries of Sir Herbert Samuel. It was not then a disqualification for office to be a Jew and a Zionist.

On the other side of Government, the encouragement of self-governing institutions, the Liberal High Commissioner took early steps. As a prelude to a representative assembly, he formed an Advisory Council to discuss major questions of policy, as well as important legislative proposals. The Council was composed of ten nominated non-official members and ten officials. The non-officials were four Moslems, three Jews, and three Christians. They were fairly representative of different sections of the population as well as the geographical sections of the country. The Moslems included Ismail Bey Husseini, one of the principal clan, who had held office under the Turks, the Mayor of Nablus, Suleiman Tokan, a landowner of Hebron, and a magnificent-looking but usually silent Sheikh from Beer-Sheba. The three Jews were a Labour leader Mr. Ben Zevi, a learned Palestinian teacher, who had been Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem under the Turks and was held in respect by all sections of the population, Mr. David Yellin, and an administrator of the pre-War Jewish colonization, Mr. Calvaresci. The Christians were a former official in the Sudan, who was a large landowner in the Northern district, the principal Doctor of Nablus, then the centre of the Arab National Movement, and a merchant of Jaffa. It was a balanced assembly, and though it had not legislative power or executive responsibilities, it served for nearly two years to provide a channel of criticism and of sound advice. The sittings were held in the baronial hall of the German Hospice that was Government House, and the High Commissioner who presided used effectively his parliamentary gifts. The luncheon, which broke the day's business—the Council met normally every month for two or three days—helped to smooth away any friction of the tri-lingual discussions.

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The Advisory Council was the only central semi-representative body which Palestine was to have for twenty years. It was dissolved, prematurely as events turned out, at the end of 1922, in order to make way for a Legislative Council, of which the majority was to be elected. The elections were abortive ; and in spite of intermittent declarations of the British Government and recommendations of Commissions, it was not possible to bring into being an elected assembly.

The procedure of legislation was simple. Measures drafted in my office and approved in Executive Council were submitted to the Advisory Council, and criticized in detail. But the authority was in the High Commissioner, subject to the unqualified veto and amending power of the Second Chamber in Downing Street. It was said of the High Commissioner that he laid a fresh egg each day in the shape of a law or Order-in-Council. I was credited by the critical Arab press with the authorship of the scores of Ordinances which were enacted. The first which I was directed to prepare concerned the control of advertising. At my first interview Sir Herbert Samuel took from his pocket a half-sheet of paper inscribed with general directions for the prohibition of advertisements in town and country, and the regulated display of placards on municipal hoardings and of trade-signs of shops and places of business. The Ordinance has been some protection to the Holy Land against vulgarization. I was soon to learn that in drawing up laws one must aim not only at that degree of precision that a person reading in good faith may understand, but at that degree that a person reading in bad faith may not misunderstand. The Courts were prone to get hold of the words and see what mischief they could do.

At the end of two months of office Sir Herbert Samuel rendered to Lord Curzon, the Foreign Secretary, a report of his administration, which gave a hopeful prospect. Tranquillity was unbroken. There had been no internal disturbances and no external raids, no incident, even of

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popular excitement. . . . The Emir Faisal had taken refuge in Palestine with many political refugees from Damascus, who were driven out by the French occupation. It had been possible to abolish the censorship of the Press, and to grant a general amnesty of those who were convicted by the Military Courts for their part in the April riots. . . . The Jewish population was relieved at the change in the attitude towards them, and was satisfied with the preliminary steps taken in the direction of establishing a National Home. In the Alsatia across Jordan, of which the Government was still, as it were, in limbo, a small body of British officers had been established, charged with the duty of fostering self-governing bodies and guiding them with their advice.

A Land Commission had been appointed to ascertain the area of land available for close settlement. The railway had been taken over from the military authorities. The organization of the Police Force had been formed. As regards the Trust for the Jewish Home, an Immigration Ordinance had been enacted, and an Immigration Department constituted. Hebrew was recognized as the official language, equally with English and Arabic, in the Central Government departments, and in districts with a considerable Jewish population.

The High Commissioner, who was inclined to be optimistic, in that first sprint of his government seemed to have good reason for optimism. But the Arab opposition to the Zionist plans recovered its wind, so to say, after the sprint, and began to overtake. It was encouraged and assisted by a section of the English public Press. One of the fundamental difficulties from 1918 till the present day has been that, even when the Government had a determined policy, powerful interests in England and abroad were directed to defeat that policy. In particular the "Spinstarchy", as it was called, of women with a sentimental passion for the Arabs, stirred up trouble in Palestine and in England. If the Jews had solid virtues and the appeal of the Bible, the Arabs

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had the graces and the appeal of romance. The long legal uncertainty about the terms of the international Trust on which Palestine was to be held strengthened the forces of unrest. It was not in 1920, nor in 1921, that the provisions of the mandate for Palestine could be adopted by the League of Nations. Only in 1922 was the mandate settled ; and it was not to come into force until 1923 ; while the Treaty of Peace with Turkey was not ratified until a year later. Apart from the larger political aspects, local conditions made for discontent among the Arabs, particularly the Moslems. Very few of the higher posts in the Government were given to Palestinians ; and in the Junior service there was a glaring disproportion in favour of Christians, for the reason that in Palestine and Syria the young Christians had attended European schools, and so had knowledge of English and French.

The opposition gathered voice when Winston Churchill, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and about to annex the Middle East to his Realm, came out to Cairo in March, 1921. He brought with him as his adviser for the Middle East T. E. Lawrence ; and having made a settlement of the affairs of Egypt and Aden at Cairo, he came to Jerusalem with Sir Herbert Samuel and held Court there. During that time, the Emir Abdullah who, with his irregular Arab forces, had disturbed the uncertain plans of the British Government about the land east of Jordan and was threatening to disturb the peace of Syria, whence his brother, Faisal, had been driven by the French, was brought to Jerusalem. The authority of Churchill and Lawrence together sufficed to win from him a promise of good behaviour and the acceptance of British advice, in return for his recognition as Emir of the country between the French sphere and his father's kingdom of the Hejaz, and a modest subsidy to uphold the dignity of the Emirate. It was an improvised and almost careless creation of a State without any economic basis. After a few months of tutelage by

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Lawrence, Abdullah received as his adviser St. John Philby, who had left the Governments of India and Iraq, and who, it was said, would pull to pieces anything he touched, from a fountain-pen to a kingdom. He did not stay long with Abdullah, as he had not stayed long in Iraq. A born son of Ishmael, whose hand was against every man and every man's hand against him, he found a spiritual and more permanent home in the Hejaz. Having adopted Islam, he pursued "the Meccanization of commerce", as agent for motor trade interests, has been the unofficial adviser of King Ibn Saud of Arabia for many years, and has probed the secrets of the "Empty Quarter" of the Arabian Peninsula. His assistant in Transjordan, Bertram Thomas, who fell out with him, went as adviser (Vizier), to the Sultan of Muscat, prepared himself there for Arabian exploration, and snatched the laurels by being the first European to cross the Quarter, and the youngest of the great adventurers in Arabia. He ended an epoch of exploration; for no inhabited land remains to be discovered. He was, too, a lover of music; and while he was at Amman, I would take my fiddle and strum with him in his Circassian hut.

The position in Palestine was not so easily handled as the problem of Transjordan. Arab delegations presented to Churchill bitter complaints and resolutions of an Arab Congress. They demanded that the principles of a National Home for the Jews be abolished, a National Government be created, responsible to a Parliament elected by the Palestinian inhabitants who were there before the war; Jewish immigration be suspended; laws enacted after the British occupation be annulled, and Palestine be united with her sister Arab States. To them Mr. Churchill replied forcibly and plainly. The Balfour Declaration, which had been ratified by the Allied Powers victorious in the Great War, must be regarded as one of the facts definitely established by the victory. It was manifestly right that the Jews should have a National centre and National Home where some

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of them may be reunited. That would be good for the world, good for the Jews, and also good for the Arabs who dwelt in Palestine. The position of Great Britain in Palestine was one of Trust, but also one of right. It was her army, and not the Arabs of Palestine, who had overthrown the Turkish Government. Finally he urged them to co-operate with the Jews. "If, instead of exchanging miseries, you will co-operate, a bright and tranquil future lies before your country."

To a Jewish deputation which followed, and had no complaints, he was equally firm and hopeful, and counselled prudence and patience. What Palestine should be to all the inhabitants of the country depended greatly on the Jews. The English promise was a double one, to give help to Zionists and to the other inhabitants. Their State, therefore, must be for the good, moral and material, of all the inhabitants.

The visit was attended with minor outbreaks of violence. It was the occasion also of a remarkable outburst of virtuosity as an artist by Mr. Churchill. Inspired by the view from his room in Government House over the Wilderness, the Jordan Valley, and the Hills of Moab, he painted a half-dozen canvases during the week; and the corridors of the Hospice were decorated partly with them and partly with the plans of the Jordan Hydro-Electric Scheme. Mr. Rutenberg, the Russian-Jewish engineer, convinced the English Minister; and in the months to come, when the Parliamentary debates on Palestine turned several times on the Electrical Concession, Mr. Churchill stoutly championed the enterprise which was fundamentally to change the economic conditions of Palestine.

Palestine seemed to be settling down again during the close season of the spring holidays, which is usually a time of alarums. It is another of the cares of the Administration that it has to take elaborate precautions against outbreak during the Easter festivities and, coinciding with them, a Moslem popular holiday in

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honour of the prophet Moses. It is as though the police in England had to guard each year on Guy Fawkes' Day against murderous attacks on the Roman Catholics in the country. This year the feasts passed happily, and there had been banquets of goodwill. But at the end of them, like a bolt from the blue, a holiday which was not in the religious calendar, 1st May, provided the occasion for a serious outbreak in Jaffa between Arabs and Jews. The attack on the Jewish settlements, spreading to the district of Jaffa and to the Plain of Sharon, had as its immediate consequences the local imposition of martial law, and the temporary suspension of Jewish immigration.

Deedes and I dashed down to Jaffa and endeavoured to bring the leaders of the communities together. That was achieved after a day, and the rioting stopped there ; but as recent history has proved over and over again, blood, though easily spilt in Palestine, is indelible. As its remoter and more important consequence, the outbreak led to the issue in 1922 of a White Paper, mainly the work of the High Commissioner, but bearing the name of Churchill, which defined more exactly the British intentions about the Jewish National Home and the Government of Palestine. The policy modified some of the more exuberant hopes about the declarations of 1920, and toned down the bright colours. Accepted by the Zionist Organization and rejected by the Arab Congress, it remained the basis of government for fifteen years.

During the troubles the Mufti of Jerusalem, Kamel Effendi El-Husseini, died ; and the election of his successor was bound to have political consequences. Kamel had been a gentle and dignified head of the Moslem community, and the office had been retained in the Husseini family for the better part of a century. The only younger member of the family who had any ecclesiastical pretension to succeed was his half-brother Amin. He had been the most violent of the Arab leaders

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in the incitement that started the Easter riots of 1920 ; and had been tried by a military court. Absconding from his bail, he was sentenced to a long term in absence. He was amnestied by Sir Herbert Samuel on the petition of the Transjordan Sheiks. When Kamel fell seriously ill, Amin hastily repaired to El Azhar, the Moslem University of Cairo, to complete the studies which war and politics had interrupted ; and he returned to Jerusalem with a religious turban in place of the national tarbush. His suit was pressed by all the influences of the family and their feudal following ; and as we walked in the funeral procession of the late Mufti, a petition calling on the Government to appoint him was passed along the lines of mourners. It was prompted by the Kadi of Jerusalem who was soon to be dispossessed by the man for whom he worked. The story of the election has been often told and distorted ; but it is true that Amin was not in the first three elected candidates from whom the Government had to choose, and that some manipulation was required to bring him into the list. At the same time, without doubt, he had popular support which was not reflected in the small electorate. The new Mufti, though he never disguised his Arab nationalism, seemed for a little loyal to the Administration ; but once entrenched in power he was the extreme Nationalist, inflexible in aim, unscrupulous in means, personally, it is believed, incorruptible, but ruthless against his Arab rivals, not less than against Jewish enterprise, and hostile equally to British policy and to the Jewish National Home.

He headed a Moslem-Christian delegation to London, which was to present their demands to the Government. On this first occasion they were a novelty, and received sufficient attention. The Government, which in the White Paper had declared its intention to proceed with the issue of a Constitution, set about that task. It was to deal at the same time with the Constitution of Iraq. I was summoned to London in August to take part in

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the Conference, which dealt with the different aspects of government, the Legislature, the Executive, the Judiciary, and the Law of Nationality. Mr. Churchill had other cares at the time, but the Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office, the Hon. Charles Wood (later Lord Halifax), inaugurated our discussion, as was his habit, with few words. Most of the work was done by two men in the Middle East department of the Colonial Office. Hubert Young, later Councillor in Iraq and Governor of several colonies, and Roland Vernon, later Financial Adviser in Iraq. Young had a vigorous and incisive mind in office, a delightful vigour and facility as a pianist out of office. Vernon had a conciliatory mind. We hammered out the draft of the Order in Council which was not issued until 1922, but has remained the Charter of the Government of Palestine.

While I was in London, I made the acquaintance of J. A. Malcolm, who had been prominent in the negotiations of 1917 that led to the Balfour Declaration and the promise of autonomy also to the Armenians. He was concerned about the concession given by the Sublime Porte to a Greek, for the Waterworks and Electric Supply of Jaffa and Jerusalem. The claimant to the Concession, Mons. Mavrommatis (Black-eye), was not the pushful man whom I expected to see ; but his backers were persistent. Long-drawn litigation was carried on before the International Court of Justice at the Hague, about his claims against the British Government, which he charged with a breach of its obligation under the mandate in granting the Electric Concession to Rutenberg.

I met, too, a woman who had claims of a different kind against the Government, and also entered into long-drawn litigation. Starting it at the age of 70, she went on till she was well past 80. Mrs. Rosamond Owen Oliphant Templeton, as she was careful always to sign herself—using her three surnames as a triple cord combining her claims—was a granddaughter of the Socialist writer, Robert Owen, the widow, after a very

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short married life, of the romantic writer and friend of the early Jewish Settlement in Palestine, Laurence Oliphant ; and lastly widow of an English naval officer who had lived in Palestine and been drowned in Haifa. She presented two demands. One was on account of the land at Haifa on which the Railway Station was built ; the other on account of land on the Carmel Ridge which formed an Arab village and was, so she said, the field of Armageddon. The station-land had been acquired by Oliphant, and purchased from her by an English company which, at the end of the nineteenth century, obtained from the Turks the concession for a railway from Haifa to Damascus. The complaint was that they had bought the land at a gross under-value, under threat of getting the Pasha to apply a law of expropriation which would involve a still smaller price. She conveyed the land by deed ; but as the Company could not take the title under the Turkish Law, it remained registered in her name. The English company was bankrupt, after only a small part of the line was laid ; the enterprise was acquired by the Hejaz Railway Department of the Ottoman Government, and the line was completed. The Government, not careful about the niceties of its own law of transfer, registered the land in the name of the railway, and had been in undisputed occupation for over twenty years. Mrs. Templeton worried, indeed, the Foreign Office and the British Chancery at Constantinople to claim the land she had conveyed, but did not get any further.

The Carmel land had been acquired also by Oliphant when put up to auction by the Government for failure of the villagers to pay tithe. He and his widow failed, however, to get possession. After the Occupation she was confident that all would be changed. A just British Government, establishing British justice in the Holy Land, would surely satisfy the claims of a British subject, two of whose husbands had served the country well ; and one had been a signal friend of the Jewish people,

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whose National Home was to be established. It was unthinkable to plead the law of prescription in face of such a claim ! All she wanted for the land at Haifa, worth ten times the price that she had received, was a fraction of its true value. All she wanted for the land of which she was the registered owner on the Carmel was that we should evict the wicked cultivators who refused to give her possession or to pay rent.

For some years she wrote me reams of letters, pleading her cause persuasively to a Socialist and a Zionist. The modest compensation for the Station land should be used for the publication of her religious and socialist philosophy. Once put into possession of the land at Carmel, she wished to convey it, for a most modest price, to the Ministry of Agriculture, to be an Agricultural Experimental Station for the Jewish settlers, and to bear the name of Lord Balfour as a tribute to his "service to Palestine". She was not wholly worldly but rather worldly holy.

To my regret I had to be legally callous. I could not advise the Government to admit her claims, and in the end she went to Jewish lawyers and entered her suit in the Courts. But she did not give up the effort to persuade ; and she would send to me, or the High Commissioner, time and again, petitions harping on her friendship with Balfour, whom she had defended in America for his wobblings on the Fiscal question. Balfour had written to her innocently : "You have hit off the present position of the Fiscal Controversy with admirable lucidity, and I think that, if the Duke of Devonshire had seen the matter in as clear a light as you have done, a great deal of mischief would have been avoided. . . ." When he came to Palestine in 1925, she laid her story before him, and obtained from him another missive : ". . . I earnestly hope that the dawn of better things is going to develop into the full blaze of complete success, and that you will have no more serious troubles and anxieties. . . ."

When I was not moved by the appeal to Balfour, she

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sent me her philosophical tracts, and added a siren note : “ . . . Who knows, perhaps you and your wife will go to live in this sheltered spot, freed from unwelcome intrusion, when your work as Attorney-General is finished, there to live in a group of learned Jewish scholars as a compensation for the perils you have suffered. . . .” Or again : “ Before beginning these comparatively insignificant mortal contentions, I had felt that I should like to come in touch with you with regard to wider and more important issues in which we are both interested. . . . As I dislike any form of strife, including lawsuits, I am sending you this little book to show my goodwill, on the principle that prizefighters shake hands before they pounce on each other, to the best of their ability. . . .”

In the end she brought to trial her claim for the Station land—but not the other ; and the Palestine Courts, which favoured the principle that the King can do no right, found in her favour. The Government had to pay for the land acquired by their predecessor from the British company ; and part of the money was used by her to publish a book on a common religion for Jews and Christians.

Mrs. Templeton's case was typical of several, where the Administration succeeded to land over which the Ottoman Government appeared to have established a clear title. Government acquisitions, no less than those of private persons in the Ottoman regime, were regularly subject to some technical flaw, which became significant only when we established a rule of law. Lands in the suburbs of Jerusalem, which had been originally bought by the British Consul, Mr. Finn, at the time of the Crimean War, handed over to a Trustee in bankruptcy when his affairs became involved, fraudulently disposed of by the Trustee for the benefit of his family, and later escheated to the Turkish Government, and finally used after the Occupation for the site of the Police Barracks, were likewise claimed by a veteran son of the Consul, and after many vicissitudes in the courts, declared to be his

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property. The Palestine Land Registers and the Palestine Courts together offered a magnificent hunting-ground.

It was another trouble of office that I was beset by petitions from the stage army of the cranks, not only of Palestine, but of all parts of the world. The "Land of the three Faiths" is the cynosure of visionaries and would-be Messiahs. All manner of fantastic proposals and equally fantastic claims were submitted. Rarely they were relieved by humour, as when one of the several Messiahs in Jerusalem sent a complaint of the action of the Revenue authorities in demanding rates from him, when it was laid down in the Bible that the seed of the house of David were immune from taxation. Another saviour sent a petition for a concession to grow tea and coffee, to manufacture unbreakable cement, and to register a patent for preserving false teeth; all this to be done in Tiberias. Some of these petitions came in letters marked outside "selfish", a not inappropriate error for "personal".

If 1921 was a year of sobering of vision and the practical definition of promises, 1922 was a year of obstruction. Palestine, in good times and in bad, attracts famous visitors, those who do as well as those who are, and it is particularly susceptible to authors. That attraction removed the provincialism of our life; and we were conscious of being in the centre of things. Yet at times we wished that Palestine might enjoy more intellectual as well as more physical shade. A British archæologist, who knew it well before and after the war, declared: "If you wish to see the great men of the earth, take a camp-stool and place it beside the Jaffa Gate of Jerusalem, and they will pass by you." The early months of 1922 brought to us two guests who were to have a considerable influence on the administration of the country: one immediately, the other later. They were Lord Northcliffe, who was the proprietor of *The Times* and the *Daily Mail*, then nearing the end of his tether; and Ramsay MacDonald, then a free man seeking a seat in the House of Commons.

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Sir Herbert Samuel, who was seriously ill and laid up for some months, could not be seen by either of the visitors. By unfortunate mischance, or mistake, Lord Northcliffe was met at Lydda, where he alighted from the train for the drive up the hills of Judea, not only by the Acting Chief Secretary, Mr. Storrs, but also by an armoured car which preceded him to the Holy City. He had come to Palestine from the Far East, and had gathered on the way misgivings about the Zionist policy because of the resentment it had roused in British-Moslem subjects. The armed escort set the match to his explosive nature ; and while the Jewish population were ready to welcome him as one who at the end of the War had championed their cause, he set himself to read them a hard lecture, and to use his influence in the *Daily Mail* and *The Times* against that policy.

He had an amazing energy. After his journey to Jerusalem and the reception of deputations, he demanded first to be conducted round the walls of Jerusalem along a walk on the top of the battlements, and then to visit a Jewish colony ; and I was deputed to accompany him to Rishon-le-Zion. He talked all the way, partly of the dangerous movement against England of Islamic opinion, in which Palestine was an irritating element, and partly of the difficulties of training intellectual men of the professions to become skilled workers and labourers. He believed in the gradual return of the Jewish people ; Palestine should be a Home of Judaism, but not the political Jewish Home. When we reached Rishon, the elders of the village came out to greet their guest and made a grateful speech. He put his elbows on the table, and told them that the Jewish immigrants were aggressive and bad-mannered. When he was in Palestine twenty years before, there was no ill-feeling between Jews and Arabs. The trouble must have arisen from the new settlers. It was the fault of an idealistic movement to be in a hurry. England had 60,000,000 Moslems, and 500,000 Jews in her Empire. She would not endanger

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her Empire for them. They must go slow, work for good relations with their Arab neighbours, and teach the immigrants to be modest. Finally, he asked me to translate his remarks in Hebrew. I tried to put some sugar round the pill, but most had tasted the pill as he spoke.

On the way back, as though conscious that he had been wilful, he spoke of his admiration for a number of Jews. But the next day he was not less provocative when speaking to the pro-Jerusalem Society. Harping again on the armed escort and the change from the peaceful smiling country he had seen years before, he declared that he scented bitter hatred everywhere, and the British public did not know what was going on. The Jews in Palestine were divided against themselves, some opposing the Zionist movement, others aggressive. This observation was prompted by a complaint received from a deputation of the extreme Orthodox section—a small group—that at that time was opposed because of the irreligion of the Zionist leaders.

Northcliffe brought with him *The Times* Near-East Correspondent, Philip Graves, and left him to study the position and write a series of articles. By one of those ironies which are common in Jerusalem, on the same day as Northcliffe denounced the Zionist policy, a reception was given by the Jewish community to Graves, in honour of his exposure in *The Times* of the forgery of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Ben Avi, the exuberant son of the Hebrew enthusiast, Ben Yehuda, poured out pæans of praise for *The Times* proprietor and its correspondents because of their service to the Zionist cause. Graves was presented with a pen made at the Bezalel School, so that he might continue to write truth in the memory of Zion.

The articles which Graves wrote were a serious and not unfriendly appreciation of the conditions in Palestine, and of the achievement both of the Jews and of the Administration. But another journalist of a different

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kind was sent to write up Palestine in a series of stunt articles for the different paper owned by Northcliffe. Mr. J. M. Jeffries, afterwards adviser of the Arab Information Bureau in London, and author in 1939 of *The Truth About Palestine*, tried to make the flesh of the British public creep with the enormities perpetrated in Palestine by the Administration in the Zionist interest. I was the butt of two of the articles, and held up to execration because I had abolished the Capitulations and did not allow Foreign Consuls to safeguard their subjects in the Courts, and because I had given jurisdiction to Rabbinical Courts which were not acceptable to the Orthodox section, and so forth. All the kittle-kattle of the English, Arab, and Jewish opponents of the Government and Zionists was served up.

This campaign from outside of stunt journalists, combined with the campaign from inside of an irresponsible press, made the task of government still more difficult than inherent circumstances that were difficult enough. We sighed for more journeymen and less journalists. During the summer, too, a debate in the House of Lords, where the opponents of Zionism obtained a majority in spite of the eloquent appeal of Lord Balfour, speaking in the House for the first time, did not help things. The mandate was at last approved by the Council of the League of Nations at its meeting in St. James's Palace, but it was not yet to come into force, and the opposition continued.

Lord Northcliffe was followed in Jerusalem immediately by MacDonald, who was still in the shadow of his unpopularity for his war-resistance and was cold-shouldered by most officers of the Administration. He had been commended to us by friends, and we took him about the city. With his feeling for history and the Biblical tradition, he was deeply interested in the spirit of the place, struck, too, with the loveliness of the Haram area and the Citadel and the Armenian Monastery. He was taken around the Jewish settlements by enthusiasts

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of the Jewish Labour Federation, and a little worried by his Jewish Labour guides who would make him see every cowshed and chicken-coop, and not give him a chance to see the beauty of the country. The English, he said, who were most concerned for Palestine were the nonconformists believing in the fulfilment of the promise to Israel ; but most of the people were indifferent to the Jewish return, except on economic grounds. He apprehended that Northcliffe's campaign would do injury. What surprised him most was the Jewish anti-Zionism. He saw the heads of the Moslem-Christian Society, and was also surprised by their virulence against the British authority, which was stronger than their opposition to Jewish influence. Always ready to pile on flattery, they told MacDonald that they knew him to be a better and wiser man than most Englishmen. He told them that that was not the common opinion.

After he returned to England an article of his impressions appeared in a volume, *Awakening Palestine*. He showed at that time an ungrudging appreciation of the Jewish achievement, though he sensed inevitable conflict with the Arab feudal leaders. When, at the end of the year, he was elected to the House of Commons, and I wrote to congratulate him, he said that the account which he was able to give his Welsh constituents of what was being done in Palestine had enormously interested them, and he owed his success in no small part to it.

Another visitor, or pair of visitors, who acted on the maxim, "See Palestine and Write," came during that season. They were the French brothers Tharaud, specialists in writing about the Jewish people. They had described vividly the life of the Galician ghetto, and were struck by the contrast between that life and the creative activity of the new Yishub. What linked them was suffering and hope. A different kind of French writer came a little later, Dr. Pierre Couchoud, the gentle physician of Anatole France and the author of the arresting *L'Enigme de Jésus*. He had come with the

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intention of spending some months in the Wilderness of Zin, and composing there a study of the revelation of Moses ; but the Egyptian authorities of the Sinai Administration were suspicious of a Frenchman camped by a solitary well of the desert, and compelled him to move on. He stayed in Jerusalem at the Franciscan Hospice of Casa Nova, and told how one of the fathers, resentful that a blasphemer should sojourn in the Catholic Institution, went to the Custode and asked if it was right. The Custode replied : " I am sure that he will not injure us in our faith, and perhaps we may do *him* good." He was unlike the common idea of a rationalist, the gentlest and quietest of companions.

Another visitor of that year, Professor Graham Wallas, was deeply impressed by the social experiment in the Jewish colonies. He wrote to me : " I should like to write a careful essay on the mind of a young Marxist Zionist ; how the abstract principles which gave him his driving force stand between him and the facts as to the position of a Jew trying, with the help of subsidies from overseas, and under the protection of the British flag, to build up the organized commercial industries which will enable them to maintain the standard of life of British or German or American industry in an unproductive country, where the majority of the population live at a much lower standard. I have so much confidence in modern science and Jewish brains and determination that I believe it can be done. But it will require not only patience but a resolute seeing of things as they are."

Part of the same idea was expressed by a famous international Socialist who came a year later, the Belgian Vandervelde, former President of the Second International, who noted that in Palestine we had a Proletariat without Capitalism.

Northcliffe's visit and the Press campaign left for me a troublesome legacy in the bitterness felt among the general body of the Jewish Nationalists toward the

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spokesman of the anti-Nationalist pietists, who had denounced the work of the Zionist Organization. He was a Dutch Jew—Dr. Israel de Haan, who in his native country was a poet of repute and had been far from strict Jewish observance. In Palestine, perhaps because of personal disappointment, he put himself at the head of the protestants and became a bigot. He was a man of exceeding cleverness and an able jurist ; and I had appointed him a Lecturer in the Law-Classes which had been started in order to provide legal clerks and advocates with some knowledge of law. The Jewish students boycotted his lectures, and for a year or more, while he was retained in his post, there was continual unrest in the classes. Then in 1924 he was murdered one night, and though nobody was brought to trial, grave suspicion fell on the Jewish extremists. The story forms the subject of a novel, which is painful reading, of Arnold Zweig.

One of the trials of official life in Palestine, particularly for a Jew in office, was to be all the time watching one's step. Somebody pointed out that the anagram of Palestine was anti-sleep. Both communities were alert to attack any act or omission which was regarded as favouring the other community. We were the St. Sebastians of administration. I was a special target because of my Zionist history, and because the Government Ordinances and regulations were issued from my office. The attacks were more expected from the Arab press and from their supporters in England, "unfriends" of the Jewish National Home. They were more difficult to bear from the Jewish Organizations. It was an inherent and permanent difficulty in their relations to the Administration that the Jews looked on all facts with a particular vision ; every occasion for them involved a principle, whereas with a British Administration a principle itself was just one fact. Jews follow the logic of thought : the English recognize only the logic of facts. A part of the Jewish people, both within and without

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Palestine, failed also to reconcile themselves to the essential position of Sir Herbert Samuel and of any Jew in the Administration, that they were officials of the British Government and must maintain administrative uprightness and hold the balance fairly between Jewish and Arab claims. They expected a Jew with Zionist sympathies to endeavour all the time to satisfy Zionist aspirations. That was impossible for the High Commissioner and, in his more restricted sphere, for the Attorney-General. The Jew in office must not be, as it was put by one writer critical of the Administration, "impartial on the side of the Jews." The Balfour Declaration was to the Jews a prophecy of a Restoration which was necessary to the wellbeing of the world. For the British Government its application was governed by the logic of immediate circumstances, which were constantly changing. Hence continual complaint and disappointment. Trouble is caused by a fixed form of words for a changing object, such as the establishment of a National Home. The Arabs complained of a Zionist Administration, and their English supporters abetted them in that complaint. The Jews expected a Zionist Administration. In fact it was a British Administration. The honourable position inevitably was to displease both communities.

Another difficulty with which Jewish officials particularly had to contend was due to one of the virtues of British administration, the freedom of the Press. Violent attacks upon them appeared in the Arab papers ; and Jews who had known the Turkish regime, when the officers of the Government were completely immune, found it difficult to understand our "weakness". One wrote to me : "You, the controller of the forces of law, who ought to make the inhabitants tremble with the frown of your brows, are attacked openly and freely, as the pettiest Turkish official was never attacked."

It was the best tribute to the policy of the High Commissioner, which aimed untiringly at conciliating Arabs

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and Jews, that, during his last two years of office, the rift between the communities steadily narrowed, and the prosperity of the country was steadily enhanced. The Government had become by that time a pure bureaucracy, benevolent but undiluted by any representative body, or even by a consultative unofficial body. The part of the Constitution which provided for an elected legislature, or for a popular element of a legislature, was in abeyance.

One important change occurred in the Administration, Sir Wyndham Deedes retired, to the general grief, at the beginning of 1923, and his place was filled during those two years by Sir Gilbert Clayton. But the change did not involve any loss of sympathy or understanding. Clayton had the confidence of both nationalities, and his quiet imperturbability was a strength to the High Commissioner.

1924 was a year of consolidation. The mandate was at last in operation, and the Administration was responsible for its doings to the Council of the League of Nations. The High Commissioner went to Geneva to render the first annual account, and passed the examination, both oral and written, as the Germans say, "summa cum laude." During his absence I acted for a short time as Chief Secretary when Clayton, who was administering the Government, fell ill, and had to hand over to Storrs. The principal incident was a treasure-hunt for gold which the German troops, at the end of the War, were supposed to have buried near Jenin. A German party came out to dig for it surreptitiously. We surprised them in the act, and arrested them for carrying firearms without a licence. The police continued digging in the place; but they found no gold.

During that winter Mr. Asquith came, almost immediately after his defeat in the Paisley by-election, which ended his career in the Commons. He had no bitter feeling of disappointment, and was the embodiment of magnanimity. He had been sceptical as Prime Minister

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about the policy of the Jewish National Home, and surprised at Herbert Samuel's enthusiasm for it. He was impressed by the accomplishment, but with a mental reservation about the economic independence of the country. Of the English statesmen closely connected with the policy of the Balfour Declaration, Lloyd George alone did not visit Palestine. Asquith, like Balfour, went on to Syria ; and arrived as the guest of General Weygand, who was the High Commissioner, on the day when the order came from a new Radical French Government that Weygand should return at once, to be replaced by General Sarraill. Weygand, it is said, wept, and complained bitterly of the system of his country by which politics governed colonial appointments. Asquith, just rejected by the electorate after more than forty years' service in Parliament, must have felt sympathy with his host.

Another visitor of the year was Cardinal Bourne, who came with a retinue of 150 pilgrims in order to conciliate the Roman Church with the Administration, and succeeded for a time. The Latin patriarch, Monseigneur Barlassina, was a splendid figure and a proud prelate, jealous for the rights of the Roman hierarchy, and not friendly to the policy of the establishment of the National Home. The English cardinal, who was a man of the broadest mind, asked to see some of the Jewish agricultural settlements. I was to take him out ; and, to my surprise, the Patriarch sent a message that he would like to accompany us. He took me in his car, flying the Papal flag, to Dilb (Kiryat Anavim), and, being of good peasant stock, showed an expert interest in the cowsheds and the orchards. To the Cardinal's visit, to the appointment of a most human Irishman, Father Pascal Robinson, as bishop in the patriarchate, and to the helpful diplomacy of Gaston Maugras, the Consul-General of France (afterwards Minister in Persia, Hungary, and Greece), we owed happier relations between the Government and the Latin hierarchy. They were cemented when General

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Weygand paid a visit to Sir Herbert Samuel. We met him at the French Consulate after he had spent the morning in the many Latin institutions ; and he remarked that he was "un peu alcoolisé"—(everywhere he was regaled with liqueurs)—"mais très sanctifié".

Another visitor about this time who was to play, like General Weygand, a fateful part in the history of the next decades, was Haile Selassie, of Ethiopia. When he came, he was not the Emperor but the Commander-in-Chief of the forces. He accompanied the Queen Mother, who was a pious member of the Ethiopian Church on a pilgrimage ; and he made himself happily remembered in the Administration by a largesse of bags of Abyssinian coffee. I may note as a curious mark of the way in which progressive ideas have their gaps, that he was amazed by seeing my wife drive a motor car in the streets of Jerusalem, asked for the car to be stopped, and put questions about the woman driving.

The indications during these years pointed to the "inevitability of gradualness" in a better understanding between the varied elements of the society. Bishop Gore, who stayed in Jerusalem some months, breathed cheerfulness and optimism about our conciliation of faiths. The political and economic barometer, too, was set fair. The anniversaries of the deliverance of Jerusalem, which were celebrated by joint "Churchagosque" services for Christians, Jews, and Moslems, seemed genuinely to mark a growing unity between creeds and peoples. The culmination of the period was the visit of Lord Balfour for the formal opening of the Hebrew University in April, 1925.

The beginning of the realization of the University goes back to the year 1923, when the first lecture was given in the University building by Professor Einstein, who came to Jerusalem on his return journey from Japan. He spoke in the Gray Hill House of his theory of relativity to an audience of the cosmopolitan intelligentsia. Paying worship to the genius of the place, his first sentence

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was in Hebrew, which he had carefully mastered, and the rest of the lecture was in French. He gave to the University Library, as a memorial of his visit, the manuscript of his first treatise on relativity. His visit altogether was a delight. He was all the time eager, simple, smiling, and boyish, embodying Ruskin's description of a genius as "seeing with the large eyes of children in perpetual wonder". I heard him expound relativity in the High Commissioner's office, explaining away time and space. And I had the opportunity of playing music with him. He borrowed my fiddle, played sonatas with a solid technique and unfailing rhythm, and led quartets with my two sisters and me. On a walk on the Mount of Olives he talked about the Jewish people and Japan. The Jews had produced no genius of the first rank in the nineteenth century save a mathematician—Jacoby—and Heine. The National Home in Palestine would release and foster their genius. For 2,000 years their common bond had been the past, the carefully guarded tradition. Now they had a new bond, the active co-operation in building up a country. He delighted in the beauty of the Arab peasant dress, and the Arab village growing out of rock, and equally in the beauty of life in Japan and in their sense of corporate union. The Japanese dinner made him understand the meaning of eternity. But he refused in Japan to ride in a rickshaw; it was degrading to be carried by a man, so he insisted on walking, and outraged Japanese sentiment. On the journey from Japan he had been thinking out a new theory of the relation of light to gravity. The ship gave the best conditions for thought; a regular life and no disturbing influences. For similar reasons he found light-houses attractive: a man could be alone there.

The first part of the University opened for research was the Institute of Hebrew Studies. That step was made possible in the year following Einstein's visit by an endowment of Felix Warburg, the leader of American Jewry. The work of translating the University from

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idea into reality was largely due to another American Jew, Dr. Judah Leon Magnes, who had been in turn Reform Rabbi, Conservative Rabbi, lay leader of the Jewish community of New York, and during the World War a pugnacious Pacifist. Full of enthusiasm for a Jewish spiritual revival, he had a way with him in dealing with the largest Jewish public in the world, that of his native country, and a tongue of gold which would extract gold from the American Jewtocracy. At the same time he had infinite sympathies with the mass of the workers in the world's largest ghetto. He came to Palestine to sojourn in 1923 ; and while he was concerned with every aspect of life, and not a little with the political problem—he held heterodox notions of democracy, and was prepared as an uncompromising democrat to accept the rule of the Arab majority—his particular cause was the Hebrew University. For years he struggled with invincible enthusiasm to make the vision a reality ; and if it was said, a little unkindly, that he was astigmatic enough to believe the University was what he wanted it to be, he had the faith that is required to move the rich and to uphold ideals against all obstacles.

The formal opening of the University on 1st April, 1925, was in every way a great occasion. The presence of Lord Balfour, who was not only the signatory of the Declaration but also Chancellor of Cambridge University, in itself gave distinction. And representatives had come from the University of nearly every country in the world to welcome the renaissance of the Jewish people symbolized in the Institution that was to rise on Mount Scopus. From Egypt came Lord Allenby and also the Arab Rector of the Egyptian University. Cambridge was represented by Sir Arthur Schuster, the Secretary of the Royal Society, and the British Museum by the late Speaker of the House of Commons, Viscount Ullswater. Other representatives were Dr. Rappard, Rector of the University of Geneva and the first Director of the Mandates Commission of the League

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of Nations ; the Chief Rabbis of England and France ; and Dr. Gide, the economist from the Collège de France. Still more impressive than the gathering of the "*illuminati*" on the platform was the crowd in the natural open-air theatre, 5,000 sitting in the seats or standing round, as far as eye could see. That crowd included Jews of all sections from every part of the Dispersion, and a very few Arabs of Palestine.

The ceremony was not perfectly stage-managed. The Chief Rabbi of Jerusalem, who was to offer a prayer for two minutes, was carried away by mystic emotion, and transgressed by half an hour the time allotted ; and after Dr. Weizmann and the High Commissioner and Lord Balfour had given their speeches, each moved more deeply than his wont by the occasion, the Hebrew National poet, Bialik, who was to conclude with a short piece in Hebrew, transgressed for nearly as long. Yet to all who were there it was an event unforgettable. Sir Herbert Samuel, on his parting address to the Jews, declared that he felt it the greatest moment of his five years ; and he made the audience share that feeling when he recited in Hebrew the traditional blessing : " . . . who has kept us alive and preserved us to this season."

On the following day I had the task of reading the addresses received from the Universities and Institutions all over the world. And if there was a certain monotony, it was a monotony of recognition of the revival of the genius of the people of the Bible and the glories of the Hebrew language.

An Arab journal, commenting on the ceremony, told the story of a peasant who picks up a horseshoe on the road, and shows it proudly to his neighbours. One of them remarked, " If you find three more like that and a horse, you will be a happy man." The Hebrew University, opened with such pomp and circumstance, was like the horseshoe. *The Times* made an acid comment. The Jewish people had been rather more generous with

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their investments than with their endowments. For practical purposes the University remained for the time being an Institute of Jewish studies. It was useless then to invite the Arabs to co-operate in making the University "an Institution in which all sections of the population may derive intellectual and spiritual advantage". Dr. Magnes set himself to remove that reproach forthwith. He went to America; and in the heyday of the enthusiasm which had been roused by the ceremony and of the publicity which the spate of journalists secured for it, he obtained a large contribution. Within a year research institutes of mathematics, chemistry, microbiology, and hygiene were working, and the University was becoming worthy of the name. As Sir Herbert Samuel declared, the Jews in Palestine did things differently from other people: they rang the bells at the beginning of the enterprise, and then laid the foundation of the building.

There were other striking occasions in the three weeks' visit of Lord Balfour, which included a progress through the country; when he received the Freedom of the City of Tel Aviv and was acclaimed in the Jewish township; and when he inaugurated the village that had been built in his honour in the Vale of Esdraelon and called Balfouria. On that occasion he was greeted by a cavalcade of Arabs from the neighbourhood and Transjordan, as well as by thousands of settlers from all parts of the Vale (the Emek). It was a tribute again to the tranquillity which the High Commissioner's policy had brought to the country that, though black flags were flown, and though, in the principal places the Arab leaders boycotted his visit, the population everywhere maintained an admirable restraint. Things were different when he crossed the frontier into Syria, thinking to have a little quiet sightseeing in Damascus, and was met by so turbulent a demonstration that he had to be spirited away to the ship at Beirut which was to take him home, and wait on it for two days. George Antonius, who

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accompanied him on that last part of his journey, told how imperturbable he was about the reception ; and when the British Consul-General came on board, and gave him an account of the fall of the Ministry of Poincaré in France because of the trouble over the American Debt Settlement which Balfour had negotiated, he smiled and asked : " What is the Balfour Letter ? Did I write it ? I have no recollection of it."

Balfour's visit was preceded by that of the sire of Jewish agricultural settlement, Edmond de Rothschild, who came to give his parting blessing. It was succeeded by the visit of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Leopold Amery, who was accompanied by the Air Minister, Sir Samuel Hoare. Amery found a very different condition from that which faced Churchill four years earlier. He received protests, of course, from Arab delegations ; but in reply to them he could point to the achievement of the Administration ; and to the Jews he could give the advice that they should rely upon themselves and their own economic strength.

Two months later Sir Herbert Samuel laid down office and left the country. He desired, indeed, to return after a short interval, live as a private citizen, and be engaged in a philosophical study of religion, to which he had been inspired by his five years in the Land of the Prophets. That hope, however, which was balm to the Jews, was disappointed. It was unusual for a former governor to live privately in the country he had administered ; and the cold caution of the Civil Service could not be gainsaid. But, if some Arab politicians professed to rejoice at the departure of the Jewish High Commissioner, and some of the Jewish populace expressed no regret at the parting of one who had belied their extravagant hopes, there was a general understanding of two things. The five years of his office were an epoch in the revival of the country and in both the Arab and the Jewish renaissance. And a solid foundation had been laid for the Jewish National Home.

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In his report on his administration, he pointed out the distinctive characteristic of the Jewish population : that they were all conscious of being engaged in a creative enterprise, whether they were working the soil, building roads, industrial workers, teachers, or administrators. That feeling applied even to officials of the Government ; the five years were a period of constructive work, done with a conscious aim and a conscious movement towards that aim.

CHAPTER VII

THE SECOND CHAPTER OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONERS

1925-1931

LORD PLUMER : 1925-1928

SIR JOHN CHANCELLOR : 1928-1931

THE three years' rule of Field-Marshal Lord Plumer, who succeeded Sir Herbert Samuel, was the most peaceful period in the modern history of Palestine. During that time we knew no disturbance of the peace ; and if disturbance were threatened, the High Commissioner's firm frown dispelled it. The tranquillity was the more remarkable because, in the neighbouring Syria, the French Mandatory was engaged in a serious struggle against a widespread rising ; and in another neighbouring land, the Arabian Peninsula, a war was waged between King Ibn Saoud and King Hussain of the Hejaz. It was due to three diverse factors. Sir Herbert Samuel's administration had brought about a measure of appeasement between the communities, and laid a foundation of economic well-being which made the Arab populace more contented ; Lord Plumer's personal authority was so commanding that agitators were kept in their place ; and lastly, a temporary reduction of Jewish immigration, because of an economic check in the development of the National Home, removed a source of irritation. The work of consolidation, which was the particular aim of Lord Plumer, went on steadily, and the conditions of Government service were happy for all.

The High Commissioner brought to his civil office those qualities which had endeared him to the army, unceasing consideration for all who worked with him,

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and selfless devotion to duty. And Lady Plumer, who had a more military appearance than the Field-Marshal, seconded his every effort. Retrospectively, it is permissible to regret that fuller opportunity was not taken of the calm to carry a stage further the constitutional progress. But Plumer, who had come fresh from his achievement of introducing self-governing institutions in Malta, with the expectation of repeating that achievement in Palestine, decided after careful survey that the time was not ripe, and that we should proceed step by step, beginning with representative Municipal Government. He was fond of repeating to his staff: "It is better to be certain than sorry!"

After two months he issued to the senior officers of the Administration a memorandum giving his appreciation of the situation in Palestine and Transjordan. The characteristic document indicates his personal views on the principles which should govern the Administration, and on the objectives for each topic. The foundation which had been laid rested on (a) a sense of security of right and property; (b) confidence in the uprightness of the Administration; and (c) a correct application of the resources of the country. The only policy likely to achieve permanent success was one based on continually trying to obtain an ideal condition of affairs, which cannot be reached in less than fifteen or twenty years. Turning to the different parts of Government, he laid down the objectives: (1) A small highly efficient police force, whose strength lies in the confidence and support of the people. (It was under his regime that the British gendarmerie, which had been introduced after the troubles of 1921, was disbanded, and a small number of British N.C.O.'s and constables were integrated into a single Palestine Police Force.) (2) In agriculture the aim was security of tenure of the occupier of the land and intensive cultivation; and other industries must be regarded as subsidiary. (3) In education the aim was a system of universal compulsory instruction. (4) In

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matters of health Government should encourage emulation between the communities. (5) As regards Transjordan, security from internal disorder and external aggression must be the primary consideration ; and while constitutional development should be encouraged, the British Mandatory must accept direct responsibility. He added thoughts about some broader issues. Religious fervour and enthusiasm should be supported. The Government's policy should encourage all religious activities which do not prejudice others ; and in his term of office an International Missionary Conference was held in Jerusalem. On the conflict between Arabs and Jews his view was that we acquired and held Palestine by right of conquest ; and having offered to the Jews a homeland, we should assure them certain privileges and enable them to consider the country as their home, but so that they should not interfere with the former occupiers or prejudice their interests.

These objectives and views of a soldier-administrator may seem naïvely general and naïvely optimistic ; but they were not so while Plumer was in the country to give effect to them. On all sides it was recognized that Palestine had become an oasis of peacefulness. Anxious to economize in every way, the British Government at home, indeed, went beyond his advice. The garrison was completely withdrawn, except for a very small Air Force, mostly in Transjordan. The Field-Marshal consented to that reduction only on condition that adequate forces should be available in Egypt to come to Palestine the moment trouble threatened ; and this condition was not properly implemented. For the omission the British Government and Palestine Administration were to pay a heavy price when, in the next period, trouble suddenly blazed out.

While Palestine was free from external and internal trouble, it suffered, during this lull, from a cataclysm of nature, such as befalls it on an average once in every half-century. In the summer of 1927, while the High

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Commissioner was on leave—and we, too, were in England—earthquake caused damage in all parts of the country and laid to the ground the greater part of the towns of Ramleh and Lydda in the south, Nablus and Jenin in the centre, and a number of villages in the north. It caused great destruction of life, though it was noted that no Jews were killed by the Act of God. The Jews were able to further goodwill by their ready help to the Arabs. Parts of Jerusalem were stricken; and the German Hospice on the Mount of Olives, which was hitherto the Government House, was wrecked. It could not be made habitable, and so the High Commissioner's residence was moved, first to a lofty, but uncomfortable hospice on the Bethlehem road, and then to a lowly and not too comfortable dwelling in the least attractive suburb outside the walls. The Evelina School of the Anglo-Jewish Association was cast for the part for three years. The domestic hardships which Lord and Lady Plumer endured, together with their tireless efforts to go amongst the people and help, impaired their health. First she and then he were seriously ill in the early part of 1928. He had passed his seventieth year; and the feeling that he could not stand the strain led him to persist in retiring when the three years' term, for which he had originally been appointed, came to an end. He was urged by the Government at home to prolong it; and in other circumstances he would have done so. That he was not strong enough was, in the light of subsequent events, a disaster; for none who worked with him can doubt that, had he been in Palestine when the troubles about the Jews praying at the Western Wall began to brew a few months after his departure, these troubles would not have passed the dimensions of a cloud no bigger than a man's hand. And the history of Palestine might have been written otherwise.

The earthquake of 1927 brought a change in our own domestic circumstances. We had lived till that year in a requisitioned German house in the lowly but

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"Gemütlich" German Colony. But the owners were entitled, and demanded, to take it back, and we prevailed on an Arab landlord, whose house was shaken to the ground, to build another, stronger and larger, to my wife's designs. It was on the Hill of Evil Counsel—where the pontiffs met to plot against Jesus ; which might not seem the most appropriate spot for the Attorney-General. The traditional tree on which Judas hanged himself was in the corner of our garden, and the ghost of Judas was said to walk. But it commanded one of the splendid views around Jerusalem. On the verge of the Wilderness of Judea, and looking straight to the Dead Sea and the hills of Moab, it was on a line with the site which, after much vacillation, was adopted for Government House. The building of the High Commissioner's permanent residence was not finished till the end of the term of Lord Plumer's successor. It was an admirable piece of work of the Government architect—Austen Harrison—whose fame has extended beyond Palestine. But to him, as to other artist-architects, the Latin adage applies : *ars longa, vita brevis*.

Before the hospice on the Mount of Olives had been ruined, Lord Plumer entertained Princess Mary, who came with Lord Lascelles, and was taken by her host to visit the country. She was impressed by it all, but reticent of speech. She was, however, prevailed upon by Miss Szold, the first woman member of the Zionist Executive, to give a little address when she visited the Jewish Agricultural Settlement at Dilb (Kiryat Anavim), near Jerusalem. Very different was the visit of the Crown Prince of Italy, Umberto Di Savoia, who came at Easter, 1928. Ostensibly a pilgrim, he was a representative of Italian power, and brought with him a retinue of generals, A.D.C.s, servants, cinematograph operators, photographers, and journalists. Receptions for the Prince terrestrial were organized by the Powers spiritual at Jerusalem, Jaffa, Nazareth, Mount Tabor, and Haifa. He was a handsome, lively prince, forced to carry the

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flag lustily to six shows a day ; but he did contrive, one late night in Jerusalem, to escape from his retinue and see something of the town for himself with the escort of a single British police officer.

The head of a European State who came in the same year was President Masaryk. He was enthusiastically welcomed by the Jewish population ; for he had been a signal champion of the Jews against anti-Semitic agitation in the days of his struggling manhood, before his exile from his native Bohemia. And he was the philosopher-king of a people whose struggle for national revival, parallel with the struggle of the Jews, had, as it then seemed, been accomplished. He visited the University, but there as elsewhere he was mute : an excellent listener, but giving no oracles.

An occasion which marked the beginning of a new role of Palestine was the christening, in March, 1927, of the Imperial Airways liner, "City of Jerusalem." Palestine was to be, henceforth, a link of Empire on the British air-route to India and Australia, and on the Dutch airway to the Eastern Indies—the Suez Canal of the air. A number of us, officials and "notables", were given a flight over the city. Seen from the air Jerusalem had an unimagined beauty, isolated from the highways, and rising majestically from the ravines around. By a strange coincidence the "City of Jerusalem" crashed in India in September, 1929, when Palestine was in the throes of a grave outbreak.

A few weeks after the baptism of the air, we were visited by Major Walter Elliot and a Delegation of the Empire Marketing Board. With him came Mrs. Blanche Dugdale, who was to be known as Notre Dame des Juifs, and who had accompanied her uncle, Lord Balfour, in 1925. Elliot was enthusiastic over the University and the Agricultural Experimental Station, and equally over the unspoilt simplicity of the Transjordan Marches, to which I accompanied him. Palestine appealed to his imperial and scientific imagination as

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the place in the Middle East where science and research could be best hitched to the British star. Mrs. Dugdale inherited the mantle of Balfour. She interpreted his ideas to the British people ; and in all political vicissitudes was the forceful advocate of the Home where the Jew should be free to develop his genius.

It was another tribute to the general appeasement that Lord Plumer was willing to allow Vladimir Jabotinsky, who had been the promoter of the Jewish Legion in the War, condemned by the Military Court in 1920, and thereafter amnestied, but exiled from Palestine because of a provocative speech, to return and live in the country. He came as an agent for an insurance company, and with a promise that he would not take an active part in politics. The Jewish soldiers' parade after his return, on Armistice Day, 1928, was memorable for his reception as the parade marched through the Jewish quarters to the cemetery on Mount Scopus. He was in mufti and did not wear his medals, but carried a hatchet stick, perhaps to symbolize that he would bury the hatchet in the cemetery. After a year of tranquillity he was roused by the serious disturbance of 1929 to a violent outburst against the Government. He left Palestine immediately, but was reinstated on the black list ; and remained in exile till his death in 1940 while campaigning in America for a Jewish army to fight for England.

The celebrations which stay in the mind as the most characteristic, were the dedications of the war cemeteries at Jerusalem, Ramleh, and Beer-Sheba by two Field-Marshals, the High Commissioner and Lord Allenby. As they stood on each occasion, at the opposite ends of the Stone of Remembrance, they visibly represented England's will to peace. Plumer on these occasions, and on others when he spoke, had a ready command of simple and impressive speech, and a voice that rang out as on the parade-ground. Allenby was less fluent and sonorous, but not less decisive.

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Lord Plumer, in his office, regularly wore his uniform ; but for the rest he affected no military display whatsoever, and in all his manners, unless there was any challenge of disorder, he was in the Latin term, *civilis*. When troubles threatened on the northern frontiers because of the fear of incursion of fugitive rebels, he saw to the building of a road with a rapidity which the Public Works Department never before, or after, equalled. The struggle in Arabia did not cause even a ripple amongst the Palestine Arabs ; and our relations, as well as those of Emir Abdullah of Transjordan, with the neighbouring and dynastically unfriendly Ibn Saud, and with the fraternal King of Iraq, were happily regulated by missions of Sir Gilbert Clayton, who was accompanied and greatly assisted by Antonius, of the Education Department.

Jewish affairs, apart from the temporary economic trouble, prospered undramatically. The community was established by Ordinance, and vested with power of communal taxation and regulation ; and the expansion of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, which was recognized by the Mandate, through the inclusion of non-Zionist bodies of the diaspora of Jewry, was adopted in principle.¹ A survey commission of experts, sent by American Jewish bodies to report on the economic development of the country, was a stage in this process, though their scientific report proved a monument of expert futility. They looked on the "Chalutzim" as though they were a well-drilled community of American pioneers, and without regard for the spiritual values or social experiment. The many commissions with which Palestine was blessed proved that it is still more difficult for an outside body than for those who have lived in the land to get a true perspective in that stark atmosphere.

¹ The Zionist Agency was directed during these three years by the "Triumfeminate", Miss Szold, Colonel F. Kisch, and Harry Sacher. The woman stood out both as personality and as administrator. She was the ideal representative of the Jewish cause to her fellow-septuagenarian, the High Commissioner.

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Lord Plumer, as might have been expected, was a determined supporter of sport ; and when in Jerusalem would come down each Sunday to watch the cricket at the Sports Club. I nearly lost my position when before his eyes I missed two simple catches. He was, too, a generous supporter of the arts, and in his day Palestine began to develop remarkably as an artistic centre. Music was the principal artistic expression, and my family had a part in the musical life. Two of my sisters were the first violin and the 'cellist of the Jerusalem Quartet. The Jerusalem Musical Society began to be ambitious in its concerts beyond local talent. The appeal of Jerusalem was sufficient to bring to Palestine, without hope of material gain, some of the world's players. First we had the pianists, Godowsky, Sauer, and Gabrilowitch ; and the last, moved by the eagerness of the people for music, endowed a travelling lectureship which was held by a veteran of the St. Petersburg Conservatoire, Professor Schorr. Then a succession followed of the-violinists, many of them Jews, the fiddle-men of Europe. First Jascha Heifetz, whose concerts during a crowded week in the country produced what seemed then the amazing sum of £1,000 ; and he gave every penny of it for the assistance of the music schools. Next, Marteau and Dushkin, who played the Beethoven Violin Concerto at a Beethoven Memorial Concert in the incomparable setting of the amphitheatre of the University on Mount Scopus. Thereafter Hubermann, who was hitherto devoted to the cause of Pan-Europa ; but his second visit stirred a second aspiration, to create an orchestra in Palestine which should equal that of any country.

Another musical achievement in Plumer's days, which was less permanent, was the Palestine Opera Company, under the lead of a Russo-Jewish director. For several seasons it flourished and gave us the best-known, if rather hackneyed, Italian operas, the libretto, of course, in Hebrew, and less known Russian operas. But even

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Palestinian ardour could not maintain opera without some subsidy, which was not forthcoming, and the company was dissolved, to be succeeded by a less ambitious effort to play Chamber Operas. An incident occurred with Halevy's Opera—*La Juive*—when objection was taken to the libretto by the Latin Patriarch. At the last moment His Beatitude discovered that one of the characters is a Cardinal who is a hidden Jew ; the attempts to mollify his sensibilities by changing the lines of the libretto did not avail, and in the end the performance was cancelled.

Dramatic development emulated the musical. The visit of the Russo-Jewish Company, the *Habima*, which was in its way as eminent as the Imperial Russian Ballet, gave a great stimulus ; and the appeal of Palestine on the one hand, and Soviet opposition to any Hebrew-speaking performance on the other hand, led to the establishment of the company's centre in Tel Aviv. Its inspiration moved a Jewish group of workers to form another company, the *Ohel* (Tent), which was directed by one of the *Habima* producers, and rivalled the professionals in and out of Palestine.

Lord Plumer left Palestine amid universal regrets in July, 1928. As usual, an interregnum preceded his successor's arrival. During that time the Government was administered by the Chief Secretary, Mr. (now Sir) Harry Luke, who had assumed the office only a few weeks before, but was not fresh to Palestine problems. He had been Storrs' assistant in Jerusalem for some years ; and in the intervening time Chief Secretary in Sierra Leone. Like most who have held office in the Middle East, he longed to get back to it. Although the country was tranquil he was soon enough to find trouble. From time to time there had been complaints by the Jews and complaints by the Arabs about the practices of prayer at the Western Wall of the ancient Temple, usually known as the Jews' Wailing Place. The Jews resented the established restrictions which put them

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on sufferance. The Arabs resented any innovation. The Holy Place was the stronghold of uncharitableness.

On the Eve of Atonment this year, while I was praying at the Ashkenasic Synagogue, the District Commissioner of Jerusalem, Mr. Keith Roach, came to attend the service. He told me that he had just come from the Wall, and had been handed there a complaint from the Guardians of the Wakf (the Moslem religious endowment of the area), that, contrary to established institutions, the Jews had clamped on the pavement a screen to separate men from women. That was regarded as an illicit move to convert the praying-place by sufferance into a synagogue, which could not be tolerated for a day. Keith Roach told me that he had ordered the Jewish beadle, who boasted the name of William Ewart Gladstone Noah (and has been dubbed the Bencher of the Outer Temple), to have the offending screen removed by the morrow. I thought it hard, but did not like to interfere. The next morning—the day of the Fast—Keith-Roach telephoned to say that he had received a deputation from the beadle asking that, as it was unlawful to remove anything on the Holy Day, the screen should stand till the night. He had refused, because he could not allow even a day-long infringement of the *status quo*. He took measures to enforce his orders peremptorily by the instrument of an English police officer, Lieut. Duff, (who has since won fame with his pen). That act caused a fracas amongst the worshippers, and Jewish feeling was immediately excited to a fever. We did our best that day to compose feeling, and to prevent exaggerated stories going abroad. But scratch religious passion in Jerusalem, and you have world uproar. This time the uproar spread through Jewry in a few days. As it happened, the Permanent Mandates Commission was sitting at the time in Geneva to examine reports of the Mandatories, and telegrams of protest poured upon it. The Mandate for Palestine provided for the settlement of questions about the Holy places ; but that part had

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not been implemented, despite attempts of the British Government to have a Commission appointed. Lawrence, it is said, when asked whom he would recommend as one of the British delegates, proposed Horatio Bottomley.

The protests about the interference with prayer on the Day of Atonement at the Wall provoked more dangerous action by those Moslem leaders in Jerusalem who were looking for an opportunity of fanning afresh a religious flame. Here, they alleged, was an insidious effort of Jewry to seize a Moslem Holy place, and more than that, to drive out the Moslems from the Haram shrine. The Moslem world was roused to protest as loudly, and Moslem passion in Palestine was worked up by every device of propaganda till relations were embittered as they had been before the seven years of appeasement. It was not difficult, moreover, for the determined and ingenious Mufti, anxious to strike at Jewish progress, to excite passion by actions as well as by words. The Moslems owned the pavement and the precinct where the Jews prayed. They could make prayer almost impossible by deliberate noise around ; and they forthwith set up a club to that end in a building above the Wall. Then they contrived to carry out repairs to the courses of the Wall, which should be another mountain of offence. When Sir John Chancellor arrived two months later, it was not to the same peaceful heritage as Lord Plumer had found.

Gloomy omens attended his arrival. The aide-de-camp whom he engaged was killed in an aeroplane accident before he could set forth ; and on the day after Sir John assumed office, his butler, who was formerly in Lord Plumer's service, was found dead in an area by the temporary Government House. Another, happier, omen, indeed, attended the day of his arrival when an elaborate ceremony was arranged. A violent storm burst over Jerusalem, and swamped the reception. He was greeted by the Arab Press as the " Green-Footed " High Commissioner, because the blessing of early rains,

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promising abundant crops, more than counterbalanced any discomforts at the reception. But in my diary I had a premonition of a falling away. It was unfortunate, too, that the lowly and improvised Government House was an irritation to him and Lady Chancellor. He missed the colonial atmosphere.

Nevertheless, during the first half-year things promised to go well. A period of economic prosperity seemed to be coming again. The Jewish people throughout the world were increasing their attachment to the building of the National Home ; above all, the leaders of American Jewry, previously diffident, were won to the cause of Palestine. Everywhere fresh enterprises were planned, both agricultural and industrial. Immigration took on a larger measure. The formation of the enlarged Jewish Agency was completed. The Levant Fair at Tel Aviv, the first held since 1926, was on a much larger scale than any of its predecessors. A celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the township of Tel Aviv, with which it coincided, was carried out with immense gusto. The carnival, which was held annually in the city each Purim (the feast of Esther), was on an unexampled scale. All Palestine and large deputations from outside Palestine flocked there to make merry. The Zeppelin airship sailing over the crowd of 100,000 participants in Tel Aviv, though it flew a Swastika flag, evoked enthusiasm. The foundation of the harbour at Haifa, long contemplated, was laid at last. The Concession for the development of the potash and other minerals in solution in the Dead Sea, also long contemplated and endlessly debated, was signed. Even the trouble about the Wall subsided while the Arabs, as always in the Orient, took the measure of their new ruler.

Two eminent visitors came about that time and were deeply impressed. One was Rudyard Kipling, whose particular purpose was to inspect war graves ; but he was curious about everything. When he visited the University, he asked about our medical work ; what

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were we doing to fight tropical disease? Why did we start with the abstract science of mathematics? Why did we not place Solomon's seal instead of a mathematical sign on the entrance door? Solomon had more to do with the place than anybody else. Palestine must be the buckle on the belt of the world, the bridge between East and West. Had not the Jews in the Middle Ages derived their science from the Arabs, and would not they share their scientific knowledge with them now? Another remark has lingered; that the dominant men of the British Empire in the next generation would come from South Africa. The mixture of Huguenot and Dutch of that country was producing a supreme race.

His remark was illustrated in the other visitor, Mr. Jan Hofmeyr, who came from South Africa. He was temporarily out of office, and came with his mother, a gnarled peasant woman of the soil, who seemed never to let him out of her sight. He came as a believer in the Jewish National Home, of which he had the conviction both from his Bible faith and from his guide in statesmanship, General Smuts. We visited with him Tel Aviv and a number of Jewish villages in Judea, and he was impressed by the developments. I went with him also to the University. Having been himself principal of the Transvaal University, he was deeply interested in our work, and particularly in the revival of Hebrew which has enthused equally Jew and Gentile. He was the author of a declaration by leading men of South Africa in favour of the National Home. "Nurtured and rejuvenated by contact with its natural soil, Israel cannot but initiate a new chapter in the annals of the human spirit."

Sir John Chancellor went on leave early in the summer, and rendered a hopeful account of Palestine to the Permanent Mandates Commission at Geneva. I went on leave a little later when the position in Palestine was still tranquil, although there were rumblings all the time about the Wall. While we were on our tour across

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Europe, we read of a serious disturbance at the Wall on the Fast Day of the 9th of Av, which commemorates the double destruction of the Temple ; and when I arrived in London in mid-August, I saw immediately Sir John Chancellor who was about to return. We drew up a draft of regulations which he proposed to issue about Jewish religious practices and Arab conduct at the Wall. We talked also of a different proposition concerning the Walls of Jerusalem. It was designed to establish a Jerusalem Preservation Trust, on the lines of the Trust for the Preservation of National Monuments in England. One of the first objects would be to restore the full view of the circuit of Jerusalem's medieval walls by acquiring and demolishing the mean buildings that obstruct it. Sir John blessed that enterprise and intended to launch it. But untoward circumstance has time and again prevented it.

The storm of Arab violence had burst before he arrived. Jews were murdered and their property destroyed in a score of places, and he found the country given over to turbulence. My wife and I dashed back as soon as we could get a passage. Before I left London, I had an interview with Lord Passfield, the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Labour Government. He approved my immediate return, and said that there would be a thorough investigation of the causes of the outbreak. A Parliamentary Commission under the chairmanship of an ex-Colonial Chief Justice, Sir Walter Shaw, who was more than slightly deaf, came out to Palestine a month later. Two of the Parliamentary members were lawyers : only the third, the Labour nominee, Mr. Snell, was a layman : an ethical preacher. Unhappily, the Zionist Organization pressed the Government that the inquiry should be conducted forensically, and that the parties should be represented by British Counsel. They had laid a strong inditement, not only against the Arab leaders but also against the Government whom they charged with gross negligence and connivance ; and

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they were determined to press their charges regardless of expediency.

It was judged by those in authority that, because of my Zionist sympathies, my position would be difficult if I were called on as Attorney-General to advise the Government about the defence to the charges. So, much against my will, I was not consulted by the High Commissioner, and did not appear before the Commission. Mr. Kenelm Preedy, who had a reputation as a fighter in the English Courts, was brought to lead the case for the Government, and pitted against Sir Frank Boyd Merriman, former Solicitor-General, who was leading counsel for the Zionist Organization. The proceedings were conducted with a maximum of heat and acrimony, directed largely against the Jewish witnesses and advocates ; and Sir Frank observed that he had never in his experience been subjected to such treatment as he received at the hands of the Tribunal as well as of the other counsel. The member of the Commission who took his function with supreme conscientiousness was Mr. Snell. As I walked to my office each morning, I would see him walking and meditating, almost visibly wrestling with the problem.

My position as Law Officer was fiercely attacked by the Arab leaders ; and I was charged with responsibility for the fact that a number of Arabs who had led the murderous attacks on the Jewish population in Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, etc., were convicted and sentenced to death, while a number of Jews against whom charges were brought by Arabs were acquitted for lack of evidence. The Arabs pictured me as a Jeffreys directing the Bloody Assizes. It is characteristic of the conditions in Palestine in times of stress that simultaneously I was bitterly attacked by the Jewish Press because a number of Arabs, charged with the same offences, were acquitted by the courts on account of insufficient evidence, and because some accused Jews were convicted. My business was to see that the cases were presented as adequately as

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was possible ; but at the insistent request of the High Commissioner I did not personally lead the prosecution. At the same time I refused to bow to clamour and to withdraw from the prosecution my Arab assistant, Mussa Alami, in whose integrity and responsibility I had confidence. The Solicitor-General, Mr. Drayton, was engaged throughout the time in assisting the Counsel for Government before the Commission.

The Arab protests against my remaining in office were taken up by the Moslem-Christian Women's Association, who went on a deputation to the High Commissioner, and for the first time were unveiled in the presence of strange men. They felt so deeply about it, so they stated, that they were prepared to go further. *Punch* commented : " We hope not too much further." A national strike was ordered in my dishonour, and feeling was so tense that the Government required me to have a guard at night in our house. A few days after the strike, as I was leaving the Government Offices on a Sunday morning, when only a few officers were about, I was shot by an Arab police orderly. He fired three times and slightly wounded me. He was immediately arrested and found to be a feeble-minded youth, who had already been convicted for participation in the murder of his sister, " to save the family honour," as it is expressed, i.e. to avenge the marriage with a man of whom the family did not approve. Placed in the reformatory for four years, he had shown there such good conduct that, when released, he was given a post in the police. The bullet was extracted at once, but the attempt brought some hours of fame and a few days of the fan-mail of a cinema star. It involved also a serious inconvenience that for the next ten months, until I went on leave again, I had to be attended day or night by a bodyguard. Two British constables of the police took it in turns to look after me ; one of them was a follower of Newcastle United Football Club, and could talk of little else ; and I was thoroughly tired of the doings of that club

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before the end of the season. I tried to persuade him to take a holiday for Christmas Day, but in vain. "Christmas," he said, "means nothing to me ; I am a tee-totaller."

The policy of the Administration became steadily more hostile to Jewish enterprise, and I was impotent to check its course. The Commission finished its recording of evidence after Christmas, but did not render its report for some time. The trials of those involved in the outbreak were protracted for months by every device of the lawyers ; and then by the applications for appeal, abortive though they were bound to be, to the Privy Council in England. The deliberate purpose was to keep passions hot ; and when in the end the High Commissioner confirmed the death sentences against three of the twenty who had been condemned for murder, and the sentences were executed in the summer, there was again passionate outcry. The three, who had committed peculiarly brutal murders, were turned into national heroes ; and the blood of the "martyrs" became the seed of the Arab rebellions.

Palestine during this unhappy period of crossness had a succession of special Commissioners. Sir Stanley Dowbiggin came from Ceylon to examine the organization of the Police Force, and made radical proposals for change ; Mr. Strickland, an expert of the Indian Civil Service on Co-operative Societies, came to advise about Co-operative development for the Arab population. For the Jews it was unnecessary, because there were more Co-operative Societies in the Jewish population than in any populace of equal numbers anywhere. Sir John Hope-Simpson was brought from the Greek Refugee Settlement to report on the larger issues of immigration and settlement. It was feared by the Jews that he had a mission to find holes in the Mandate and prove it unworkable. While in Greece every endeavour was exerted to realize the seemingly impossible, in Palestine the endeavour was to make what was possible seem

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impossible. Then an international commission appointed by the League of Nations came to inquire into and define the rights at the Western Wall, which had been the immediate cause of the explosion. It was composed of a Swedish ex-Foreign Minister, Senator Lofgren ; a Swiss judge from Geneva, Mons. Barde ; and a Dutch official from the East Indies, Mons. Van Kempen—a Nordic trio. Its proceedings, like those of the Parliamentary Commission, were forensic. Jews and Arabs presented their case through an array of counsel, and wearisome hearings of witnesses. But the heat and the acrimony had been reduced, and the objective approach of an international tribunal was exemplified. The Commission at the end of its sittings gave a dinner to which officers of the Government and the leading representatives of the two contending parties were invited, and Senator Lofgren told an apt story in the hope of composing the two parties. Two men who set out on a ramble passed a monument, and started wrangling about the inscription on it. After coming to blows one proposed that they should return and see which was right. They went back and discovered that both were right ; they had been looking at different sides of the monument.

When Sir John Chancellor went on leave in the summer, the Government was administered by Sir Spencer Davis, the Treasurer, a sturdy veteran of the service, and full of obvious goodwill as well as shrewdness. He and I were anxious, as were the Commission, that a serious attempt should be made to get the Arabs and Jews to agree about the praying at the Wall without a judicial decision. With one of my colleagues I tried to be the honest broker, and for some weeks the prospect of agreement was fair. We tried various formulæ to avoid offence to either side ; but in the end the feeling hardened, first on this side and then on that. We failed, although the final award of the Commission reproduced substantially the points which were proposed for agreement.

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The Jews would not accept implied recognition by the Moslems of their right of meeting for devotion ; and the Moslems would not give express recognition.

Colonel Kisch, the political head of the Jewish Agency in Palestine, worked hard with us to bring about understanding, realizing that, if we could obtain conciliation on this point, we might hope to extend it to other issues. But something in the atmosphere of Palestine over and over again obscures a true perspective and leads to insistence on small points. Perhaps the height of Jerusalem, nearly 3,000 feet above the sea level, strains tempers. As it was said once by Weizmann, it is not necessary to be mad in order to live in Palestine but it helps. During this year the feeling of the British Government officials hardened against the Jews, and my position was burdensome. Hore-Belisha, who came on a visit, marked the ill-will against the Jewish effort though it evoked his Jewish pride. I left in September to conduct an arbitration on behalf of the Government about the liability for the repair of the German Hospice on the Mount of Olives, which had been Government House and was wrecked in the earthquake of 1927. The two arbitrators were Mr. Justice Webb, of the Palestine Bench (later Chief Justice of Sierra Leone and Tanganyika), and Dr. Huberich, an international lawyer. They were to have sat in Geneva, but in the end the venue was changed to Berlin, and Webb and I proceeded there. The result was not altogether satisfactory to the Government ; but what disturbed me more was the evidence in Berlin of the rising anti-Semitic flood and the growing strength of the Nazi political party. A number of Jewish shops had been sacked the week before, and the Jews, who in 1929 were almost derisive about Hitler, were now seriously alarmed.

Soon after I reached London a more serious disturbance concerning Palestine affected us. The Labour Government published the Passfield White Paper about Jewish immigration and settlement in the country, which shocked

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the Jewish people throughout the world. The tone was hostile and, as Lord Plumer observed to me, unnecessarily rude. Every adverse comment in the Hope-Simpson Report was stressed ; and following on the Government's endorsement of the report of the Shaw Commission adverse to the Jewish case, and its complete disregard of the careful statement of Mr. (later Lord) Snell, which was in effect a minority finding, it indicated a definite recoil from the policy which the British Cabinets had pursued for ten years. Of the Report it may be said that it contained true things but not the truth ; and ironically a Labour Minister for the Colonies suspended Labour immigration ; and a Socialist and Trade Union Cabinet discriminated against Trade Unionists and Socialists.

The Permanent Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office offered me promotion in the Service, to be Chief Justice in Cyprus. At the same time, he informed me that, owing to the tense feeling between Arabs and Jews in Palestine, it was considered difficult for me to retain office in that country. Sir John Chancellor some months before had communicated the offer of the post of Chief Justice in another colony, less attractive than Cyprus ; and I had rejected that. I did not want promotion in the Colonial Service ; and I felt it a mistaken policy to remove from Palestine a Jew in office because of Arab clamour. On this occasion Lord Passfield sent for me and asked me to consider the matter carefully, urging the attraction of the neighbourhood. I saw no sufficient reason for changing my view and informed him that I could not accept the other post ; if the Government thought it necessary, they must retire me. For reasons of principle I would not resign. The decision was that I should be retired, but I was asked to keep that private, and not to return to Palestine for the purpose of arranging my affairs there until the Government approved. Weakly, I consented ; and then, having gone to the Riviera for a holiday, I found the position intolerable, and asked

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that I should be permitted to go to Jerusalem and clear up things. The reply was to summon me to London, where I was told that the question of my retirement was under further consideration. In the meantime I should work at the Colonial Office, but I must keep the matter confidential. I was in London for nearly a year before the final decision was reached ; and my service in the Government of Palestine was brought to an end by a process of attrition.

CHAPTER VIII

EXCURSIONS IN EUROPE

1921-1931

THE maps of the Middle Ages showed Palestine as the centre of the world ; and it was, in fact, and is that again. One of the advantages of office there was that the neighbourhood on every side was full of history as well as of great scenery. During short leaves we could visit Egypt, Sinai, the Lebanon, Syria, Cyprus, and so forth ; and on long leave we could travel to England, the outer circumference from our point, across the most interesting countries of Europe ; and each time by a different route. My wife and I used part of our holidays in this way, and realized that Europe was a unity for all its divisions. In 1923 we spent some weeks in Italy. In 1924 we travelled by way of Constantinople and Rumania, up the Danube to Vienna, and thence through Germany to Holland. Two years later we took a coastal steamer along the Syrian and Anatolian seaboard to Cyprus, and thence to the Piræus, wandered in Greece for a month, crossed to Italy, and thence home. In 1929 we shipped our car to the Piræus ; and thence my wife drove it through Greece, Yugoslavia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Holland. The following year I made my first acquaintance with Geneva, and was again in Germany. And in 1931, when I was having an unwelcomely long break from Palestine, we had a tour in Russia.

We had the opportunity on our travels to be in touch both with the official authorities and with the Jewish communities. Palestine was a good name of credit ; for the Jewish bodies everywhere were anxious to know what was happening there, and we readily found friends and guides wherever we alighted. My experiences and

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my impressions in those years of comparative peace and plenty gave me some understanding of Jewry in dispersion, which was a complement to the understanding of the place of the Jewish National Home. Looking back now when both Jewish communities and States are crushed out, they have an aspect of mingled futility and fantasy. In the first Italian tour we travelled with Deedes and his mother, who were finally leaving Palestine ; and we had a few days with them in Venice, just sight-seeing. Visits to churches, palaces, museums, and picture-galleries seemed after a bit to be an unmannerly pursuit. It is a poor business in a foreign country to be concerned only with its past and not with its present life. On a first visit to Venice in 1910, I was struck by posters of the Socialists, demanding that the canals should be drained so that the town should be healthier and denouncing the treatment of their country as a museum of antiquities for foreigners. Post-War Italy rebelled against patronage. As I passed through Trieste on my return to Jerusalem in 1921, I witnessed one of those frequent brawls between the Communists and the Fascists in the streets ; and the British Consul told me that there had to be an end to the anarchy which the unemployment in the port had provoked. The Fascist regime was establishing itself in 1923 ; and I have regretted that we did not get closer touch with its groups. We noticed, as so many other travellers, on the one side the increasing orderliness and punctuality in Italy as the years of discipline passed, on the other the increased irritation of slogans and propaganda, and the monotony of the newspapers. The external neatness hardly concealed the inner rotteness. The position of the Jews in Italy under the regime, in spite of their proclaimed contentment till 1938, steadily deteriorated. That was a sure index of the moral decay.

On the way to Venice in 1923, we landed for an hour or two during the inevitable wait at the then dirty, but now spruced, Port of Brindisi, and inspected the little

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"Museo". It has interesting Jewish relics : funerary urns and inscriptions from the Roman times and the Middle Ages, illustrating the continuity of Jewish life in Italy for 2,000 years. For Judaism has had a longer history there than the Roman Church. I was impressed more by a medal that bore the sign "Geula" (redemption) and a Hebrew legend meaning, "Those who pass to the Holy Land." The guide explained that it was struck by a pro-Palestine Society in 1920, after the Allies' Conference at San Remo, in honour of those restoring the Jewish State. The Brundisium of Roman antiquity, and the Brindisi of the Middle Ages, had been the portal of the Orient, and the Brindisi of to-day was becoming that again. Whenever we touched there, we would find a group of those setting out to Palestine. At Bari, close by, Jewish youths from Palestine were students of the University till the year of doom, 1938. The Government went out of its way to encourage them by granting exemption from fees, and at one time it gave substantial assistance to a group of Haluzim training there for maritime service. The Fascist Government, further, was the first European state to endow a lectureship in its literature and culture at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Until evil communications corrupted good manners, Jewry throughout the world had reason to hope that the Italians had sympathy with their "Risorgimento". And the significant expansion of Italian institutions, religious, philanthropic, and commercial, in Jerusalem and elsewhere in Palestine, strengthened that hope. The Jews deserved the goodwill of Italy for their national revival, as a recompense for the part they had played in the unification of Italy ever since Manin, the half-Jew, was the first President of the liberated Republic of Venice in 1848. A century ago when they were struggling for freedom they felt that they must first help to free Italy. Jewish emancipation and Italian liberty were conceived in the same womb.

The young Italian Jew was more self-conscious than

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nationally conscious, fearful of proclaiming himself a Zionist lest it should reflect on his Italian loyalty. But speaking on Palestine at a Jewish club in Florence, I found that a group of young Jews had more faithfully assimilated the nationalist ardour of their environment, and transformed it into an ardour for a Jewish State which a Jewish Garibaldi should bring into being. Hebrew was making progress, as everywhere else in Europe; for Hebrew teachers had been brought to the communal schools from Palestine. That influence, which was spiritual as well as linguistic, Hebraic as well as Hebrew, was linking up Jews through the diaspora with the centre.

We saw on that same journey the villa on the outskirts of San Remo where Lloyd George and the representatives of the Principal Allied Powers had conferred the Mandate for Palestine on Great Britain in April, 1920. It was a large undistinguished mansion bearing a Persian name that means Paradise.

Our tour in Greece in 1926 had a double object; to see the beauties of classical Hellas, and to get an idea of the "New Ionia" which was being settled with the fugitives from Asia Minor. That work of resettlement had an obvious and an almost dangerous attraction for those concerned with the Jewish restoration in Palestine. If the impoverished Greeks with international help were able to plant on the soil over 1,000,000 of their countrymen in a few years, and assure their well-being, why could not the Jewish people, with their resources and with the help of Great Britain and the League of Nations, be able to plant in Palestine within a generation 1,000,000 Jews on the soil? Piræus, where we landed, invites comparison, to the Jewish eye, with Jaffa-cum-Tel Aviv. A fishing village seventy years ago it is now one of the chief ports of the Mediterranean, more important than Constantinople. It had grown out of knowledge since I saw it in 1908. The shipping in the port, as our Italian captain described it, was packed like sardines in a box.

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That captain explained to us that the line Trieste-Haifa was run in order to carry Jews to Palestine and beasts to Greece ; on the return journey they shipped cattle at the Anatolian ports and landed them at Athens. We had watched the loading of cattle at Mersina, where we saw also the Ghazi, Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk), who was inspecting the town. The whole male populace was gathered in its incongruous headgear, having been ordered under severe penalties to doff the Tarbush ; and having replaced it with caps, bowler-hats, Homburgs, and boaters. They were Westernized only on the top ; they wore their baggy trousers and their burnouses beneath. But Kemal broke the sovereignty of custom among a peasant people ; and by the imposition of Westernism ended the stranglehold of the Westerners in the Ottoman Republic.

Greece was blessed with another and, as it turned out, a short-lived dictator, General Pangalos, who likewise was concerned with dress. The immediate effects of the regime for travellers were the requirement of longer skirts for women and shorter banknotes for everyone. The inflation of the currency was marked by the cutting of all notes by one-third ; and women's frocks were required to be so many centimetres below the knee. My wife passed the scrutiny. Another dispensation of the Dictator was to prohibit the teaching of the Funeral Oration of Pericles in the schools because it praised democracy.

Piræus and the way to Athens were crowded with the wretched tenements and the camps of the Greek and Armenian refugees ; who since four years had been thrown on the hospitality of the country. Classical Athens around the Acropolis was an island of beauty in a sea of slums, completely circumvented by the tin shanties and the industrial town. Athens is essentially a city of refugees, and it is at present the shoddiest capital in Europe. The modern city and the modern citizens show that the environment of lovely things may not help

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to produce loveliness. The civilized world pays its tribute to the sources of its civilization, and Athens is as full of institutes as Jerusalem. Institutes cannot create living forces ; but 1940 proved the genius to survive.

The American Chairman of the Refugee Settlement Commission was away, and we saw Sir Robert Graves, his deputy, who had spent a lifetime in the Middle East and had been Consul in Jerusalem, working there with Laurence Oliphant. He told us how the Commission had dealt already with 1,500,000 persons transferred from the Ottoman Empire, most of them Greek, the rest Armenians. Half had been able to place themselves, half were provided with land or with a home by the Commission. Over half a million were settled on the land, mainly in Macedonia. The rest were in urban quarters round Athens, where they founded new industries. The capital for colonization came from the international loan of £10,000,000, which was secured partly on the revenues of Macedonia and partly on the land itself. The average cost of settling a family was £200, about one-fourth of the cost of settling a Jewish family in Palestine. But facilities in Greece could not be reproduced elsewhere. In the first place the land was immediately available from the large area evacuated by the Turks and Bulgars, who were sent to their own country. Other large areas were derived from the breaking up of the bigger estates, part of that agrarian reform which revolutionized conditions after the World War throughout Central and South-Eastern Europe. The Government was concerned to help, and the population amid which the settlers were placed were altogether friendly. Lastly, the settlers themselves were peasants, born and bred, of great industry and of a simple standard of life. It was conducive to the strength of the Greek State to have placed this mass of loyal Greeks in a country where before 350,000 turbulent and discontented Moslems and 100,000 Bulgars contended with the Greek minority. The Greeks might well set up a statue to Mustapha

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Kemal as one of the great benefactors of the Hellenic nation. Years later, indeed, in 1938, when, flying back from Palestine, I spent a night in Athens, I witnessed an illumination of the city in honour of the Treaty of friendship and amity which had been ratified that day between the Hellenic Kingdom and the Turkish Republic.

. From Athens we sailed to Patras on our way to Olympia and the Peloponnese. A law student on the ship talks with me, a Royalist who hates Pangalos, the upstart, and loves the English who are the only civilized people. There are 15,000 students at the University of Athens, and of them 10,000 are in the Law School, 100 are students of philosophy. (Shades of Plato!) Of the Greek respect for learning we had an example the same evening at the Patras Hotel, where a notice was displayed that persons of inferior education would not be admitted; and on the way to Olympia we had confirmation of the passion for legal training. We had time between trains at the small town of Pyrgos, and wandering through the streets noted the sign of a court. A case was being tried in a big barn before a large crowd. Though the figure of Christ was above the judge and a crape-bound Bible before him, there was no majesty of the law. A lawyer took me in charge; and after we listened a little to the constant brawl between judge and advocates, he led me to the Advocates' Club which had more dignity. In that little town nine judges were sitting, and seventy lawyers were attempting to practise; and the number grew each year. Everybody knew that too many lawyers bred too many suits; and every family of consequence had its own advocate. But litigation, as in Palestine, is the main intellectual recreation.

From Olympia—a place fit for heroes and for Olympic games, of which a charm to-day is that the traveller is left alone to drink in the beauty—we went to the port of Kalamata, and from there walked through the Gorge of Langada to Sparta. We made the detour to Mistra to gaze at that unique ruin of a stronghold of the church

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in the Dark Ages ; the churches and the palaces rising from the rock are a petrified section of the Byzantine culture. At Sparta we found Spartan fare and Spartan fleas. The town is laid out with German "methode", from the time when it was designed to be the capital of new Greece ; but German cleanliness has not abided. Most Greek towns welcome the visitor in a modern inn, "the White House," with a Yankee Greek host and American standards. All have hostelries with the alluring notice "Inn of Sleep", which signifies only that they do not provide food. From Sparta to Nauplia, and from there to the glories of Epidaurus, Argos, and Mycene. Next, to Corinth, where one pictures the Jews, in the first century of our era, conducting in the restored Roman town a thriving commerce, spiritual as well as material. At Delphi the jumble of monuments along the Sacred Way recalled the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem with its motley mixture. We met there a grandson of Grieg, who compared the Hellenes with the Norwegians, clean, spruce, and mystic ; only their lines were cast in more pleasant places. He was appalled by the dirt and disorderliness of the people of to-day ; but thought better of the Greeks who are genuine Levantines, unashamedly different from the ancient Hellenes, than of the Italians, who claim to be Romans but are shams. Fascist Italy has revived the Roman genius for building, but nothing else of that genius.

We set sail again from the unattractive Patras in a ship that was wandering between the islands to Corfu. In passing the little town of Levkas we saw the wooden houses with tiled roofs, surrounding a public garden, that comes down to the Strait, and looking for all the world like an English village on the Broads. The island was under English protection until 1863, and retained from the English rule old cannon lining the road along the causeway ; we were to find on Corfu other English relics, the Regency Palace, cricket, and ginger-beer. But a more notable contribution of the English

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Protectorate of the Ionian Islands was the national poet of the Greek nation, Solomos, who was a native of Corfu and a British subject. His "Ode to Liberty" was as famous as Wordsworth's, and he wrote the Greek National Anthem. Greece in her national revival has felt a kinship with England, and the English have been mindful of her glorious past.

We alighted at Preveza in Epirus, and as we approached, could see the sure signs of the resettlement of refugees, white, plastered standard houses. There were, too, outward signs of gratitude to the Allies, an English and a Gallic Street, a Street Clemenceau and a Street Lloyd George. The director of the refugee work, M. Stavropulo, drove us to the villages where they had settled on the land some 600 families. He himself was a trained agronome of Montpellier and Algiers. We drove along the Janina road through an olive forest, which was planted by the Venetians more than 300 years ago. When we came to the open country we saw a spread of Roman ruins. It was the town of Nicopolis, founded by Augustus after the victory of Actium, and one of the chief cities of the Empire until the Bulgars destroyed it in the seventh century. The ruins were scattered over fields and hills for miles; theatres, aqueducts, temples, and huge walls. Immediately under the ruins of the Temple of Mars a little colony of the refugees nestled, named Saphrampolis, and inhabited by sixty families from a town of that name near the Black Sea. They were a village community, like the Palestine Jewish Co-operatives, responsible together for the repayment to the Commission of what had been advanced; and they had already made their repayments in the first year.

From Preveza we continued our way to Corfu, and, stopping at the island of Paxos, picked up some British subjects going to the capital of the Ionian Islands for a fête on the morrow, which was both our King's birthday and the anniversary of the union of the islands with

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Greece. Pangalos was to grace the celebrations ; and our passengers were a deputation from the island which was the home of 3,000 inhabitants and as many "*sympolitae*" abroad. One day Palestine will have likewise as many absent as present citizens. At Corfu we lodged in the same hotel as Pangalos ; and I had sight of a dictator at close quarters. He was not impressive ; fidgety, ill at ease, unready of speech when the cheering crowds demanded it ; and his wife might have brought down any dynasty. He had seized power, it was said, through command of one battalion of infantry.

We had our part in the celebrations, watching the procession, attending the Te Deum in the Cathedral, seeing the military review, and finally a torchlight march (Lampadephoria). Corfu was a notable place in Jewish annals during the Middle Ages, but the Jewish community had fallen on hard times, for the Jews cannot compete with the Greeks in commerce ; the bigger merchants depart to more hopeful markets, and the pedlars only are left. The Rabbi, who was a Hungarian pietist and mystic, seemed out of place amid the Levantine community ; but the Zionist movement was bringing fresh life to the young generation ; and in the procession a Jewish band carried the flag with the Shield of David by the side of the Italian Fascists.

At Corfu we saw, too, the ruin of the Venetian fortress, in which two years before the Italians had bombarded to death Greek refugees from Anatolia to vindicate the Fascist "*Sacro Egoismo*". In that same fortress and in Preveza other refugees were to be bombed to death by the Italians in 1940.

We crossed to Brindisi, and spent some days in Italy before we turned home, seeing Ravenna, Verona, and Lake Garda. We arrived in Ravenna to find the town decorated with flags and garlands for the festival of the Granting of the Constitution, i.e. the Fascist Constitution. The multiplication of national feast-days throughout the Continent of Europe is one of the social

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oddities of our time. Our ancestors multiplied fast-days in memory of the national tragedies ; the moderns celebrate what they are ordered to regard as the joyful occasions. Ravenna had an extraordinary peaceful and out-of-the-world beauty. It belongs essentially to the past, to Theodoric and Justinian, to Dante and Boccaccio ; a gem of a mausoleum. But in Italy the great events of the past do not seem remote from the present people as they do from the present-day Greeks. Italy has not been barbarized and left desolate like the lands of antiquity ; and civilization in its most dramatic moments has been continuous for 2,500 years.

All classes of people were processing through the streets, wearing all manner of splendour and medals. Even the infants have their uniforms, and start using their legs by marching. The Italians have no fear of seeming to show off ; their fear is not to be able to show off. At night we watched the crowd in the piazza thronged around a military band, and buzzing excitedly when a civil officer proclaimed the successful numbers in a tombola, the national lottery, to the accompaniment of bugles. The declaration of a Parliamentary ballot in England did not compare for excitement.

On the Lake of Garda we lodged in a lovely Monastery of San Vigilio, at the foot of a tiny promontory, to which an avenue of cypresses led from the shore. We paid worship to the spirit of Catullus and visited his Sirmio ; but the tourist throng has taken away the charm of which he sang. The continuity of thought is impressed when one reads Catullus and Virgil in their land ; for the newspapers and the placards of to-day ascribe to the Duce the same adulation as the poets then gave to the Divus Augustus. Italians never know moderation, in love or in hate, in praise or abuse.

In 1924 we sailed on a Rumanian boat from Haifa to Constantinople. The passage of the Dardanelles brought very different association from that of 1914. The Straits looked peaceful again ; but we saw sunken ships at

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Sidi Bahr and Chanak, the bared hillside from Cape Hellas to Achi Baba, which healing time had not yet reclothed, the vast cemeteries, and the scattered wrecks. The change in Constantinople was more marked. The city had lost its capital majesty and was visibly in decline ; and the broom of Kemal had not yet swept it. It seemed almost as if the Turks willed it to decline because it symbolized the domination of the foreigner in their affairs. Majesty lingered only in the mosques, the Byzantine walls, and the museum with its spoils from the far-flung Empire, including Palestine. When I suggested that the Hebrew inscription from Hezekiah's tunnel in Jerusalem and other treasures should be restored to their homes, as was prescribed in the abortive Treaty of Sèvres with Turkey, the Turkish keeper remarked that they might consider restoration when Great Britain restored the Elgin Marbles !

Conditions in the Jewish community were likewise very different. The foreign schools could no longer set the tone ; and the teaching of French and German and English was prohibited. Hebrew they might teach with Turkish ; and the Ottoman Jews, like the other Jews of South-Eastern Europe, recognizing that they had no more a part to play in the ardent national society of their country, looked to Palestine. They had—voluntarily—repudiated the minority rights which the Powers had required Turkey to accord.

After two days we continued through the Black Sea to Constanza, passing a Soviet ship which bore a motley load of refugees—of the first Russian vintage—bearded men and harlequin-dressed women and children. We left Istanbul on a day of festival for the Republic, curiously celebrated when all power was with a dictator. Constanza, the old Roman port of Constantine, was a vast harbour full of emptiness. At Bucharest (*nouveau-civilisé*, among capitals) we were shown the sights ; the pretentious imitations of Paris and the Jewish quarter with its teeming, uneasy population. Zionism was the religion

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of the youth and giving dignity to them. It inspired three journals : for the children, the students, and the mass. I had an interview with the then Foreign Minister, Duca—who was later Prime Minister and assassinated by the anti-Semitic Iron Guard. He was interested in the progress of Palestine, and anxious, as the statesmen of the countries with a large Jewish urban population were everywhere, that we should facilitate immigration. The Jewish population in the—temporarily—aggrandized State had increased from a quarter of a million before the War to nearly a million.

For two days on the Danube steamer to Belgrade, seeing noble scenery and the working of an International Commission which made possible the navigation of the river, the interest in Palestine stuck to us ; for amongst the passengers were Rumanian and Bulgarian Jews to whom Palestine was the bourne. The Jews in those lands live amid a peasantry who both despise and fear them, and a professional and upper class who resent their brains and their wealth. Whatever laws and the League of Nations may enact, they are on sufferance. And the more they disguise their Jewish character, the more relentlessly the Chauvinists hunt them. Anti-Semitism goes hand in hand with a genuine revolutionary, anti-capitalist movement provoked by Jewish capitalists. It was to reach in 1941 the peak of savagery.

The Jews in the aggrandized state of Yugoslavia are a less important part of the population ; 75,000 in a total of 15,000,000. Belgrade itself had less than 10,000, half being Sephardim and half Aschkenazim. But the largest community is in Sarajevo, the principal city of the former Ottoman Sanjaks of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which from 1878 were under Austrian administration. The Jews, descendants of refugees from Spain, who were in Turkish times the principal middlemen, have so remained ; and their relations with their Moslem neighbours are happier than the relations of those in the Slav provinces with their Christian neighbours.

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But their position in the Triune Kingdom compared ill with what it was in the Dual Empire.

At Budapest, Zionist sentiment was severely repressed by Government and not less by the community. The Jewish population of the Hungarian capital, nearly 250,000 and in numbers a quarter of the whole, was divided between Orthodox and assimilationist (*Neologisch*) in religion ; both sections were national-phobe, eschewed Zionism, and professed an exclusive Magyar patriotism, which was to win them no friend. The community had not yet recovered from the blow which Bela Kun had struck them by his hated Communist regime. They were bitterly hated and hating each other. One of the old henchmen of Herzl searched me out, showed me Herzl's house, and brought me to a Zionist group meeting secretly in a café. Open meetings were impossible in the town of the two Zionist heroes of my youth, Herzl and Max Nordau.

We had another encounter with Palestinians at a café famous for its gypsy music. The leader of the band, splendidly arrayed, was presented ; and, hearing that I came from Jerusalem, turned and asked in Hebrew about his brother who was in Tel Aviv ! From Budapest to Vienna, where we spent a week. It was my first time in that proud and once light-hearted, artistic capital which has an imperial grandeur ; but I was never to see it except in misfortune and decay. That year it was slowly recovering from a financial collapse of the krone ; and I paid bills expressed in millions. In 1934, at my second visit, it had just suffered the murderous repression of the Socialist outbreak. In 1938 and 1939 it was passing through the agony of Nazi annexation and being denatured, turned into a provincial German town.

Vienna was the centre in 1924 of the European work of the Joint Distribution Committee of America, the largest of Jewish philanthropic bodies which was brought into being during the Great War. Dr. Bernard Kahn, its director, was living in Vienna ; and with him, the

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perfect guide, we saw the struggling life of the Jewish community. Anti-Semitism already was stalking through Central Europe, spreading ever westwards, and nurtured by the feeling of humiliation among the German peoples and their craving for a scapegoat. The head of the Gemeinde, General Dr. Pick, a veteran of the Austrian Army, was working manfully to restore the life of a community stricken with poverty, but well-knit and still well-endowed with institutions of philanthropy and scholarship. He it was who, fourteen years later at the age of near eighty years, when the Nazi roughs set on him to make him scrub streets, put on his general's uniform and shamed them.

There were in 1924 happier aspects. They were the days of the Socialist triumph in the Municipality ; and the housing and schooling, clubs and sports-grounds, built by and for the working people were an inspiration. And the Wienerwald of Beethoven and Schubert was the playground of all sections of the people. Vienna, too, was more than ever the school and the academy of Eastern Europe. Nazi influences seemed then more a joke than a peril ; and in a performance of the *Mikado* which we saw in one of the State theatres there were gags against the Hakenkreuzes. We saw there, too, a performance of the Yiddish players from New York given to an enthusiastic audience. Any artist was welcome. But the large, overlarge, Jewish populations in Budapest and Vienna, which were previously the middle estate of a powerful and populous Empire, were now for the most part a commercial and professional proletariat of small republics. Their capital had disappeared in the general ruin, and their vocation was taken from them because of their anomalous vocational distribution. The exaggerated national feeling of defeated peoples inevitably turned against an element which was regarded as foreign.

From Vienna we continued our way westwards, first by the river steamer along the Wachau, with its memory of Schubert, to Linz, and then to Salzburg. The musical

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festivals in that lovely town began to draw all Europe, and they represented the rebirth—almost still-born—of an international spirit towards art. That year, mingled with the Mozart operas and the Reinhardt spectacles, we heard a Festival of the International Society of New Music in which all the works played were new. My Cambridge contemporary, E. J. Dent, presided over it "because only an Englishman could be impartial". Among the novelties were settings to music of Plato's Dialogue of Crito, including the death of Socrates, and of a Catalogue of Flowers. Jews had a notable place both among the composers and the performers of what a musical friend described as "Whipsnade music".

At Munich we found again a celebration—of a Republic ; but without processions, such as were to come ten years later when Munich became the citadel of a Party. Half a year earlier Hitler had tried there the Putsch that ended in a seemingly sorry failure. At Nuremberg, too, our next stopping-place, we saw no outward signs of that Party, but we witnessed, a few days later, the conditions that made for its insurgence. After seeing in Frankfurt the Jewish as well as the other antiquities, which impressed the double feeling that Jewish roots in the Rhineland go back to Roman antiquity, and that their memories are almost always linked with tragedy, we took the river-boat from Mainz to Cologne, passing through the area of the French military occupation. Mainz itself was full of French colonial troops, 40,000 of them ; and a rough, uncouth soldier in a Tarbush was supposed to check our passports. The boat was placarded with notices against the singing of German patriotic songs ; and the ships' officers would be liable to severe penalties for a contravention. The feeling of oppression pervaded the pleasure-steamer ; and a visitor could not be blind to the feeling of humiliation. The French occupation of the Ruhr had added intolerable insult to injury. At Cologne we passed into the zone of British occupation ; and one of my old colleagues of the Palestine

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Administration commanded here a battalion in another capacity. The control was lighter and more concealed than in the French zone, but even thus it could not but sow amongst the frustrated the seeds of hate. And while we were in the town Englishwomen were investigating the mortality among German children from malnutrition.

Our next stage on the railway was through the Ruhr mining region occupied by the French. The resentment of a Volk against that sanction for the payment of war indemnities was to be visited first against the helpless Jews of Germany.

The last days of our journey were spent at the Hague, which is—or was—a capital city of international law, as Geneva was of international politics. In the Peace Palace—pathetically named—the Permanent Court of International Justice was busying itself with the tangled story of the Mavrommatis Concession for the water supply and electricity of Jerusalem. The President of the Court, a Dutchman, Judge Loder, had been in Palestine the previous year. He was hopeful that the court would be an instrument of growing efficacy for the settlement of the disputes between nations, something more than a symbol. But it had not been seriously tested in a first-class issue. When that test came some years later in the case about the validity of the German-Austrian “Anschluss”, it was to disappoint the high hopes and to seal its fate for a generation. Loder had the conviction that the world was a better place than when he started his legal career, and that the cause of justice was broader-based. He was fortunate in dying before disillusion had come.

We made an excursion to Leyden to see the University. The college building of one of the historic seats of European learning is much less imposing outwardly than the smallest Cambridge College. But the abiding devotion to science, legal, medical, botanical, and the rest, has made the Dutch a great people. Leyden University, established in 1575 as *Praesidium Libertatis*, after the

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heroic resistance of the town to Philip of Spain, was the first-fruit of their national emancipation, just as the Hebrew University was the first-fruit of the Jewish national rebirth. It seemed right that in 1940 the Academy, which had given Einstein his first academic appointment, should be closed by the Nazis because the authorities would not bow to the anti-Semitic Baal.

In the last stage to London, from Amsterdam, we had our first flight. The Fokker monoplane flew along the coast of Holland and Belgium to Dunkirk, and across the Channel, taking five hours. After our wanderings from end to end of an impoverished but socialized Europe, the contrast, that could be found in no other country, between the mansion and the cottage was impressed when we looked down over the English countryside. We were still two nations, the last feudal fortress, and were blindly evading the revolution of social conditions which was promised in the War—to make a land fit for heroes.

Our longest European journey was in 1929, the peak year of American lending and economic recovery, when European peoples as well as the Jews were full of hope of the establishment of a better order. That summer, following a Zionist Congress, the enlarged Jewish Agency was formed at Zurich ; and a Reparation Conference of the Powers at the Hague was expected to usher in happier relations with Germany. The blighting of hope was to come to the Jews terribly soon, and to Europe in a short interval. We started our tour again from Piræus, and had two days of torrid heat in Athens. It amazed us that the Athenians should have sat the livelong day and enjoyed the great plays, while the summer sun blazed on their heads in the theatre. The three years that had passed since our visit had seen another political revolution, a *Kinema*, as they call it ; but there had been a period of clearing and reconstruction, and the worst slums and shanties of the refugees had disappeared. This time we met at Athens a new head of

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the Refugee Commission, Mr. Eddy, a typical American "executive", tall, white-haired, deliberate in speech; and with him Sir John Campbell, vivacious and full of assurance, the director of the Settlement, who was an ex-Indian Civil Servant, and had been on a mission in Palestine to report on the economics of Jewish colonization. He with his Deputy, Sir John Hope-Simpson, soon to be engaged also on a Palestine mission, were completing their work in Greece. We drove to the largest urban quarters, Byron and Hymettus, and to the industrial quarter of New Ionia, efficient and ruthlessly utilitarian. Our last night in Athens was spent with the former German Vice-Consul of Jerusalem, Von Adelmann, gentle and sympathetic, with whom I had often made music. I was to meet him four years later at the assembly of the League in Geneva, when he was representative of the Minorities Department of the German Foreign Office, and had to provide a brief for the German Delegate defending the Nazi treatment of the Jews.

Our way lay through Thebes, and by the side of the poetic mountains, Kitheron, Helikon, and Parnassus, to Lamia. The smallness of the country, as of Palestine, which produced so much of the mould of our civilization, is amazing. The next day we passed through Thessaly and Macedonia to the outskirts of the Hellenic world. In a few hours we moved from one battlefield which made the history of Hellas to another that made the history of Imperial Rome; from Thermopylæ to Pharsala, and then to the battlefields of the pigmy Turko-Greek War of 1897. Thessaly was being studded with refugee villages. The morrow we drove over the mountains skirting snowy Olympus till we reached the plain that leads to Salonica, and we were in the heart of the new Settlement. The population of Salonica had grown under Greek rule from 100,000 to 250,000. The Jewish population which, under the Turks, formed the majority, had fallen by half, and their influence and power had disappeared. Until 1912 the merchant

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princes were Jews, the great mansions were owned by Jews, the principal craftsmen and artisans were Jews, and the Municipal Government was in their hands. Salonica, too, was the centre of the Donmehs, that sect blended of Jewish and Moslem faith, which embraced the followers of Sabbatai Zevi, the false Messiah of the seventeenth century. From the little community sprang several of the leaders of the Young Turks, Djavid Pasha and Caraso, who brought about the revolution of 1908. The revolt against the Sultan broke out in Salonica ; and the Sultan Abdul Hamid was for years a prisoner there in the house of a Jewish banker.

We found a hopelessly impoverished community of which two-thirds had to be maintained with communal help. Most of the big families had migrated to more propitious environments. The Greeks, in their need for their own people, could not brook the dominant position of the Jews. In the city where they had been established for four centuries, since the stream of the refugees from Spain was admitted by a powerful and tolerant Sultan, and brought with them their Spanish speech, they were now flotsam and jetsam of a national upheaval, floating without clear direction on the waves of a troubled sea of a self-conscious, self-determined populace. We were entertained by the remaining leaders of the community, still bearing noble Spanish and Italian names ; but none had illusions.

I had a day seeing the front side of the medal ; the Greek agricultural, industrial, and fishing settlements dispersed around the city, which offered an extraordinary picture of enterprise and hopefulness. My conductor was a Constantinople Greek, educated in England in engineering. He combined enthusiasm and efficiency, like the young leaders of the Jewish Labour Organization in Palestine. The Greeks, making sweet the uses of adversity, had achieved a remarkable work of national consolidation. Throughout this northern mainland, which ten years ago was waste and derelict, the spreading

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cultivation and the industrious peasantry, the well-planned villages and the new urban quarters, the fishing fleets and the factories, the tractors and the granaries, the agricultural colleges and the stud-farms form the foundation of a new *Magna Græcia* which is compact with national unity.

We drove through Edessa and Florina, and crossed the frontier into Yugoslavia near the old Monastir (now Bitolj). Across the border the atmosphere was completely changed : soldiers and barracks instead of agricultural settlement ; and fighting appeared to be the principal business. One of the constant tensions was disturbing the peace, a fear that Albania, moved by Italy, was to invade Yugoslavia. Patrols stopped us every few miles along the road. We spent the night at Lake Ochrida where the peace of the waters also was disturbed by gun-boats. Looking back on that tour ten years later, how indescribably futile appears the preparation for war and the incessant war-fever.

The next day was a popular holiday, the Feast of Peter and Paul. In our drive round the lake and over the hills to Skoplia (Uskub) we saw the peasantry turned out in their bright colours, by the side of the drab uniformed soldiers. Almost every village had its mosque as well as its church, and Moslems and Christians seemed to live happily in brotherly unity. All the way to Nish we were passing through a peasant country where everybody lives the simple life. Old Serbia must resemble England of the seventeenth century, without the nobles and big houses ; and our motor car caused agitation, particularly to the horses of the buggies. Nish recalled its military past with tremendously wide streets, huge barracks, and big schools. We spent the night at a British Serbian Orphanage, maintained after the War by a Scotch women's mission. All careers in the country are open to the orphan boys when they leave except the farmer's. A Serb must inherit land to-day.

We continued our way to Belgrade, but did not stay

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long in the capital. Only the fortress above the river bears the stamp of history. For the rest, a country-town is turned into a normal, modern, capital-conscious city, skyscraper stores taking the place of the single-decker stucco shops, and imposing government offices absorbing the money which was needed for roads.

We drove on westward by the Danube, through the flat plains of Croatia in which the villages have an unrelieved monotony; a dead straight street with farmhouses on each side, all of a pattern, cattle, pigs, and geese thronging the roads, no hedges, and no borders. We spent the night at a fortress-town on the Danube, Vukovar, and found a Zionist group headed by a Herzl, cousin of Theodor. The Jews in Croatia were happier than those in the rest of the Yugoslav kingdom because they might cultivate their national feeling by the side of the separate Croatian nationality. We diverged to Bosnia and stayed at Banyaluka (the Bath of Luke). The influences of Austrian rule were visible in the better roads and the better hostelries; the survival of the Moslem conquest in the many mosques, and in those most decent of cemeteries with uniform, classless headstones, a tarbush at the head of each, the name and date, and nothing else, inscribed.¹

Austrian influence, too, was to be found in the cosmopolitan character of the farms; for the former Government had encouraged immigrants from many lands. By the chance of a puncture we came across a small Dutch settlement, twenty-five years old, and next them a German settlement, and Poles, Rumanians, and Turks. The Dutchmen who spoke English told us of a German Protestant Church with a converted Jew Pastor. There were Jews at Banyaluka, centred round one family, which characteristically included doctor, lawyer, and merchants. They scarcely knew of the British Mandatory Government in Palestine; and

¹ The Sephardic Jewish cemeteries in these lands have the same classless dignity.

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their principal connection with the Holy Land was through the emissaries who collected the shekels for the poor of the Holy City. They heard only of the needs of the poor, and were excited to see stamps and coins of Palestine bearing the Hebrew inscription. In these scattered outposts of Jewry it means a lot, and will come to mean more, that a Jewish homeland exists again, a living spiritual centre of the people in its historic soil. The scattered Jews, though their families have been settled 400 years, are conscious of their isolation, forced in many cases to learn a new language and acquire new customs in order to live with their neighbours, creatures of a passing order in which they have no voice and no responsibilities.

We had a few days' Sabbath from motoring in the National Park amid the Plitvice Lakes, enjoying a lido without the lido life. We met there the director of the Bible Society for Southern Europe who was full of enthusiasm for Serbian poetry. He had translated a Montenegrin epic by Bishop Negresco which, he said, was as fine as anything of Milton. Even the common people of the country pour out dirges and elegies on the graves of their dead. Cultural nationalism was not yet submerged by Totalitarianism.

We took the road again through Zagreb and Maribor (formerly Marburg) to the Austrian frontier. Nine years later, in very different circumstances, when on my way from Trieste to Vienna in May, 1938, I was held a prisoner by the Nazi passport control in the railway-station of the frontier town. But in this decade of truce the illusion of a new peaceful order endured. We sped through little Austria on the unaccustomed asphalt roads without incident or Jewish encounter.

On our way to Prague we stopped at Tabor, built on the rock between two rows of fortifications; I was attracted by its Biblical name as well as by its history. We saw an exhibition and fair like the Levant Fair of Tel Aviv.

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Jewish nationalism in its economic aspects is not different from European.

At Prague the head of the Government department for impressing and entertaining foreigners organized a dinner in our honour, at which we met officials of Government and Professor Fischer of the Czech University. The women included the head of the Peace Movement, a critic of music and a leader of Social Reform. They all talked English adequately, and were anxious to give us the maximum of information in the minimum of time. The desire of a new State to win good opinions was apparent. They envied us in Palestine our freedom from Parliament and our double system of education for Jews and Arabs ; they could not get over so easily their national difficulties between Czechs, Slovaks, and Germans, after 300 years of subjection.

Professor Fischer was a "non-Aryan", in the later parlance, but his Jewish conscience was aroused. The saddest thing, he remarked, about the Jewish cemetery of Prag and the Gothic synagogue, which go back 1,000 years, was that the Jews, with all their history behind them, were still strangers in the city. Even a visitor could feel the weakness that they were associated in language and culture with the German minority, yet they could not honourably disown their German affiliations. The Jews at that time were not fearful, and were proud of the part which Czech Jews, men like Hugo Bergmann, Leo Hermann, and Hans Kohn, nurtured in tolerance, were taking in the cultural upbuilding of Palestine.

One other thing impressed on us was that the Czechs were the first to recognize America as a principal influence on modern Europe. Wilson's statue bearing the message, "Make the world safe for democracy," the Wilson Railway Station, and the Hoover Boulevard marked outwardly their gratitude. America on her part did not recognize any paternal responsibility.

We drove through the mountainous Sudeten area (to be nine years later the tragic corner of Europe),

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noting the increasing Germanism and industrialism ; and crossing the German frontier sped to Dresden. After a day there among the pictures we proceeded on our way to Berlin ; and at a casual stopping-place, Juterbog, alighted on another celebration. The town was bedecked for a Schutzenfest, the 100th anniversary of its local militia. Juterbog had played its part in the Reformation as the scene of first resistance to the Papal corruption of selling indulgences ; and it had a methodical consciousness of its history. In appearance it reminded of Canterbury with its towers at the gates, its old wall, and its splendid church, where we were shown the chest in which the monk put the money for the indulgences. Outside the town were large barracks which were to play their part in German history a few years later. In the procession gallants in medieval doublets and feathered hats carried torches through the city. The Guild had existed for 500 years ; and we were told that it was in no way military, though the members practised shooting and cultivated patriotic sentiment. The motto on their flag "Für Vaterland Ub' Aug' und Hand", was ten years later to have another significance.

At Berlin we saw the sights methodically. The most impressive things to us were, in the big museum, the facade of Mashatta filched from the Transjordan ruin, and the restoration of the altar of Pergamos, for which a new hall was just constructed ; both trophies of the Drang nach Osten. What pleased most were the new workmen's quarters and the workmen's entertainments at the Volksbuhne Theatre. There we saw an old sentimental comedy, "Berlin—Wie es weint und lacht." It seemed then fitting that the Republican Constitution was given in Weimar, the city of literature and art. The theatre was crowded with an audience of workmen and women, tense and appreciative, like the audiences of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. Berlin was again a capital of art and music, the home of Reinhardt, Furtwangler, and Walter.

Unbeknown we were at the end of the period of the

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Social-Democratic Republic. I marked the difference a year later, when I was again in Berlin to plead the cause of the Palestine Government in an arbitration about the Hospiz on the Mount of Olives that had been Government House and been wrecked by earthquake. Our host then took us to the Grand Opera to hear a performance of *Götterdämmerung*. The musical quality of the performance and the musical rapture of the audience were equal; but rumours were rife that night that Hitler and his National Socialists, who had just won a portentous success in one of the many general elections—raising their votes from 800,000 to 6½ millions, and their seats from 14 to over 100—were to march on the morrow from Potsdam and seize Berlin. It seemed incredible that a people with this culture should be a prey to what was considered at that time a turbulent gang. In 1929 those fears were not expressed. Most Jews of Berlin had no presentiment of the coming doom. Their scholars and scientists had a full part in the academic life. But from one of the leading teachers in the Law School, a baptized “non-Aryan”, who was to be an exile four years later, I heard apprehension of the recrudescence of anti-Jewish feeling at the University. He could see no way out. Jews and Germans were equal and opposite forces, either too devoted to ideologies or too purposeful and practical. The simple way of conciliation did not appeal to them. We left Berlin on the 1st August, when the Communists were staging a demonstration for the anniversary of the outbreak of the World War. Everywhere celebrations, everywhere stirring up national or class feeling.

Our next stage was by way of Wismar on the Baltic and Lubeck to Hamburg, two Hanseatic cities where the “*Senatus populusque*” survived—at least in the inscription on the gates—to be entertained by Max Warburg at his pleasance on the Elbe. The leader of German Jewry at that time had no misgivings; five years later when we visited him again, his house and gardens were

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given up for a training place for the young German Jews and Jewesses who must leave the country and turn to Palestine. Another recollection is of our tour of Hamburg Harbour, when we saw the big sister-ship of the *Bremen*, the *Europa*, half-burnt out, and a party of young Communists in a boat flying the red flag followed by our side. Communism was professed and accepted without any concern. We passed the next day to Holland through Bremen to find that town bedecked in honour of the ship, named after it, which had just won the Blue Riband of the Atlantic.

I was lecturing on the Mandates at the Academy of International Law at the Hague, and we wandered for a week in Holland. The motto of the Netherlands, "Je maintiendrai," is extraordinarily appropriate; more than any other of Europe, her bourgeois peoples have contrived to preserve the character of their great days. Can there, by the way, be found a greater contrast than between the two parts of the Low Countries due to Dutch primacy in liberty? We visited construction works on the Zuyder Zee, which were reclaiming a vast area, equal to one-seventh of cultivable Holland.

The Queen and Princess Juliana were visiting the works at the same time, without any pomp and fuss, but marched around like any others. The dyke to link Eastern with Western Holland along the narrow causeway was being constructed. In later years I was to cross it when visiting the training centre of the refugees in the reclaimed Polder, well-named Werkdorp.

We stayed at Zwolle and found a region with a twofold religious association. It was the home of medieval Thomas à Kempis, who takes his name from the neighbouring Kempen; and the Castle of Ommen near by was the seat of a modern prophet—not in his own eyes, but in the eyes of his followers. The Camp of Krishnamurti, the Star of the East, was attracting a vast assembly, which included our George Lansbury and Lady Lutyens, and many Americans eager for a new faith.

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We repressed our curiosity to go, but we visited the place a few years later when the castle had been turned to an international school conducted by the Quakers for refugee children.

At Amsterdam we were shown round the workmen's housing quarter, which excelled anything either in Vienna or Berlin, by the German General-Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Dr. Sassenach, a former diplomatist who knew the world. Amsterdam was the centre of the Federation, and in the office, as one might expect, were several Jewish secretaries. Josiah Wedgwood, that most individual of socialists and most fearless friend of the Jews and all oppressed groups, had given us the introduction when he came to Palestine to see a living Socialist community.

The War Reparations Conference, attended by statesmen of all the European countries, was in session at the Hague. The Germans were struggling for their economic life, while the English delegation, of which the head was Philip Snowden, was vigorously asserting our claims against our former Allies, and menacing the success of the Conference. The Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Labour Government, which in its broad policy was devoted to genuine appeasement, set the Conference agog each day as his declarations grew blunter. He made a comment on the French Finance Minister's proposals that they were "grotesque", and though it was sought to distinguish the English and French connotation, feeling ran high and there was fear that he would be the victim of personal assault. The civil servants on his staff were delighted with his bold front. His insistence in the end prevailed, but our relations with France in the critical years to come were affected by an attitude which to our public was strength, and to their public truculence. We met at the Hague, besides the Snowdens and Philip Noel-Baker (who was Secretary to Arthur Henderson), one of the German financial experts, Carl Melchior, a partner in the Warburg Bank. He was

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the life and soul of parties at the house of his brother, an international jurist. I was to meet him again after the Nazi revolution, when he had been driven from every office, and was devoting himself to the organization of constructive effort for the Jewish community; he embodied then the tragedy of German Jewry, as in 1929 he embodied the hope of Germany for economic deliverance.

The lecturing at the academy at the Peace-Palace was a pleasant avocation. Teachers and students alike were genuinely international; and one seemed genuinely to be teaching the *Jus Gentium*. My colleagues for the week included a German, a Frenchman, an American, a Dutchman, an Italian, and a Greek; while the students came from a score of countries. I had among them a fiery Cypriot Nationalist who denounced our Administration; a Hungarian who was fanatical about minority rights; the Italian Consul of Mersina together with his son and daughter, and a number of solid Dutch women. To avoid National jealousies we were forced to lecture in French. But apart from that hardship, everything was done by the Curatorium of the Academy to make life easy and pleasant. It is bitter to reflect that that international plaything has been broken to pieces under the iron juggernaut.

VISIT TO RUSSIA

During my period of purgatory in 1931 my wife and I carried out a plan, which we had entertained for some time, of visiting Russia. We went with a party of the Workers' Travel Association, about twenty men and women of varied vocations; and probably on account of my baldness and apparent age I was made the leader. The party included several civil servants, journalists, and lecturers, two women doctors enthusiastic about Russia, and some ordinary travellers to whom the good value of the tour—nearly thirty days for £25—was irresistible. We visited, with the party, Leningrad,

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Moscow, and Kiev, and by ourselves other parts, particularly the Jewish agricultural settlement in the Crimea, which invited comparison with the settlement in Palestine. We sailed from London Bridge on a vessel of the Sovtorgflot, the *Jan Rudzutak*, which took us to Leningrad. It was a propaganda as well as a mixed cargo and passenger ship, and every opportunity was given us on the way to be indoctrinated and impressed about the new life. It was different from the Russian ships on which I had been for journeys from Palestine; no ikons and no vodka: only one class, although more than one kind of accommodation, and different prices for it; crew and ship's officers eating the same food and meeting together each night for discussion about the running.

The passengers included several Jews of Russian origin going out from the United States to see their families, and happier on this vessel than on American liners because of the absence of any feeling against Jews. One was a doctor who was an enthusiast for the Revolution, and one of the pioneers of an early Communist settlement in the United States. The settlement had not prospered; but he was all excitement to see his ideals realized in his country of origin. He was an ardent Communist, believed in the Millennium, and gave lectures each evening about aspects of the Soviet system.

We arrived in Leningrad, properly prepared; and what we saw there and in Moscow and Kiev left us with a conviction that a big movement was being worked out—though at the price of individual freedom. We were shown, of course, what our guides wanted us to see; but it is an advantage in a foreign country to be shown the things which the Government is doing; and we all had eyes open, and some who knew Russian, ears open, to note things that were not shown. A large part of the young generation was full of a burning faith; and what had been achieved in the sphere of popular culture and popular education was remarkable. The achievement on the industrial side, which we could

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compare with English standards, was not so impressive. It was the middle period of the first Five Years' Plan. What interested me most was the spiritual change and the mass assimilation of the three million Jews.

Atheism and the iconoclastic fervour of the new Communist religion attacked all established creeds. I had noted in the standard English book on Russia of the latter part of the nineteenth century, by Sir Mackenzie Wallace, his prophecy that the Orthodox Church was hopelessly corrupt and would collapse. The intense Jewish observance also of the enclosed ghetto, which could not survive the breath of freedom in England and America, was bound to be blown away by the gale of freedom in the Revolution. We had an illustration of the passionate feeling of young Jews against the old order, when our Intourist guide, who was a Jew, took us to the anti-God exhibition in the St. Isaac Cathedral at Leningrad. A corner of the cathedral was devoted to displays of the superstitions of the different creeds, among them Judaism. When he came to that corner he, who had hitherto been anxious not to hurt our English feelings, let himself go. He was brought up himself to a strict Jewish life and his parents still lived that life. But the iron of constant ceremonial had entered into his soul.

On the other hand the younger Jewish generation was full of pride in the Soviet achievement. At that time anyhow they had their full part in it. The Jewish masses, previously restricted in large measure to petty trade and the secondary industries, enjoyed a free field in agriculture, in industry, heavy and light, in every department of the State. At Kiev and Odessa, after we had left the party and were on our own, we had fuller opportunity of seeing that development. In those towns the Jews were about one-third of the population, about 170,000 souls, nearly equal to the then Jewish population of Palestine, whereas in Leningrad and Moscow they were only a small fraction. They had special national rights,

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which meant in practice that Yiddish—but not Hebrew—was recognized as a language of schools, press, and theatre, Jewish courts, Jewish schools, Jewish hospitals, and in Kiev a Jewish Research Institute. The Government had established a special department (Komset) for promoting the transformation of the Jews, who were largely a bourgeois element of traders and petty capitalists, into productive workers. Its head was a pure Slav, but its driving power came from ardent young Jews. The youth, both Slav and Jewish, were enthusiastic for the building up of the new order. Machines, as a productive force, commanded their worship, just as the powers of nature were the object of worship in antiquity ; and the Jews in addition were thrilled by the opportunity for a full life. They were shedding two complexes which had made life difficult for generations , both the inferiority and the superiority feeling. With all Russians they shared the chance of engaging in every part of life. And yet they kept a Jewish pride of race, which was intensified because, with most, the religious tradition no longer held. The achievement of the present took the place of past history as their pride.

One part of the tradition they kept in distinction from the rest of the population, a sense of mutual responsibility and of charity. They were helped in this by outside agencies, the Agro-Joint, the American body which was assisting in the Agricultural Settlement, the Ort and Oze, pre-revolutionary bodies for promoting technical and agricultural education and better health conditions, and lastly the Icor, combining American and Russian pro-Communist Societies, which was particularly devoted to the project of a Jewish self-governing republic in Birobidjan. That ambitious but inauspicious enterprise we could not see ; but we were able to visit the schools, the technical institutes, the hospitals, the convalescent homes, etc., in Kiev and Odessa, and to live for a week in the Agricultural settlement of the Crimea. The hopefulness of the society was in that way parallel to the

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spirit in Palestine ; nor were personal links wanting with Palestine. The enthusiasm which built up that creative settlement was engendered in Russia ; and not a few of the workers in the collective farms in the Crimea were members of the Left Wing of the Poale Zion, who had gone to Palestine as pioneers and been expelled by the British authorities because of their extreme Communist opinions.

Russia, in the exclusiveness of her Communist faith, was starving rather than suppressing the old religious life of the Jews. In her exclusive Slav Imperialism she was discouraging if she did not suppress the use of Hebrew, the permanent tongue, while encouraging the transitory Yiddish. Her Jewish Communists sought to pull up Jewish culture from its historic roots. But that iconoclasm was not the hostile act of a Government as much as a reaction of the young against the old ways of life. The effect was that the Jewish quarters in the towns, and the Jewish regions in the Crimea or in Birobidjan, could not be centres of Judaism, hearths of a spiritual Renaissance ; but they were homes of upstanding, productive Jews. Russia was providing a solution for the problem of her three million Jews as human beings in a more constructive manner than any other State. While in Palestine the Jews consciously go back to the past to find a fresh inspiration for the present, in Russia they seek to blot out the past in order to stimulate activity in the present. One movement is material in its idealism ; the other idealistic in its materialism. In the State which adopted the Bible of a renegade Jew, Karl Marx, the Hebrew Bible was supplanted. A little later, in the land of Marx's birth, the Jew was to be deprived of citizenship and human rights in the reaction against his teaching. Such is the strange working of Jewish genius on the fate of the Jew.

A visit to the Kiev Institute for Research in Jewish Science was illuminating about the break with the past. The Institute, founded recently, had a library already

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of 180,000 volumes confiscated from famous Jewish private libraries, and the files of over 400 Jewish newspapers and periodicals. Its eighteen scientific workers with as many assistants were divided into six departments dealing with (1) social economy, which meant the study of conditions for introducing Jewish people into productive life ; (2) philology, i.e. the study of Hebrew and Yiddish languages and Yiddish literature, ancient and modern ; (3) bibliography ; (4) pedagogy ; (5) history, beginning with the nineteenth century ; (6) ethnology. The Institute was not concerned with the problem of preserving the Jewish people, but with research into the facts.

Religious observance so far as we could see, though discouraged, was not persecuted. At Kiev, as at Moscow and Leningrad, some synagogues were open, though those attending were mainly old people ; and at Odessa we noted in the streets advertisements of *Motzas* (unleavened bread) for the Passover. In the towns and villages and the Jewish Agricultural School in the Crimea persons readily spoke Hebrew with me. The Hebrew names of the villages, some of which had been identical with Palestine names, were no longer countenanced ; and Revolutionary dates, September, October, or the like, or even the names of American benefactors, such as Julius Rosenwald, were substituted. It seemed that Judaism and Hebrew were barely tolerated. One could draw a parallel between the attitude of the Soviet Government to them and the attitude of the Palestine Government to Communism.

From Odessa we travelled by steamer to Sevastopol, on our way to Sempheropulo, the capital of the Tartar Republic of the Crimea and the centre of the Jewish colonization. The authorities made no attempt, or even offer, to attach a guide to us ; but when in difficulty in finding our way, we could always light on a Jew who would know German and help us out. Freedom from self-consciousness of the Jew did not impair his sense of brotherhood. At Sevastopol we went, as in duty bound,

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to see the panorama of the Siege, housed on the height which formed the central Russian position in the Crimean War. Parties of students and children were receiving the inevitable instruction. We went also to Balaclava by electric tram, and lighted on a relic of the War, a ship salvaging the gold believed to have gone down seventy-five years earlier in an English man-of-war. From Sevastopol we took the train to the capital, and passed on the way Inkerman, famous both for the Battle and its pre-historic caverns, and Alma (the Tartar word for an apple), set in delightful orchards. It was curious to see names everywhere in Latin characters; while Russian is still written in pre-revolutionary lettering that baffles the Western eye, the Tartar script, which was Arabic, is replaced by our alphabet.

Three officials, all apparently ardent Communists, were with us in the carriage. After a bit one spoke to us in German. Two of them were Jews; one held important office in the Crimea. When he found we were Jews, he let himself go. Trotsky was already an exile, and his name was blotted out from record; but our official waxed enthusiastic about him. He was the greatest organizer and the supreme orator, who by his words could make men Communists. He and Lloyd George were the two spell-binders in the world. Our Communist asked about the army and the police in Palestine. When I stated that the higher officers were English, he shrugged his shoulders and tossed up his nose. That was proof enough that the Palestine Mandate was a piece of imperialism.

At Sempheropulo we found Dr. Joseph Rosen, who was the Director of the Agro-Joint enterprise and a power both in the general and the Jewish community. A Russian by birth and a Socialist by conviction, he had lived for years in the United States, been a successful farmer and Director of the Jewish Agricultural School at Woodbine, returned to his native land in 1920 to assist the transformation of Jewish life, and planned

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with the Russian authorities the development in the Crimea and the Cherson. He was both fearless and prudent, blessed with equal determination and critical sense, sympathetic and firm. We visited with him the institutions in Sempheropulo, and had another glimpse of the Communist picture of Palestine. In the Jewish school the teacher was dealing with Jewish history and politics. She spoke in Yiddish and contrasted, perhaps for my benefit, the position of the Jews in Palestine and Russia. In Palestine they were exploited as in other capitalist countries, while in Russia they were free. Dr. Rosen told me that in the same school, after the children had a lecture on the blessings of the Socialist State, and the teacher asked why electrification was not being carried out in the capitalist countries, a child replied : "Because it has already been done."

One of Rosen's assistants took us round the settlements accompanied by the principal Local Officer of Komset, who was formerly Procurator-General in the Crimea and, like our companion in the railway carriage, was full of undisguised pride for the Jewish contribution. His brother in the navy had risen to be an Admiral at the age of 28. They were of the class who, in Palestine, might be chauffeurs or leaders in the Labour Federation.

The head of the Agricultural School with its 80 students was a former pupil of Bialik, the Hebrew poet, and eager to know about Palestine. We saw next one of the older collective settlements known as Voya Nova (the New Life), but formerly Tel Chei, in which forty settler families were returned from Palestine. One of the villages had been planted only a few weeks, and the inhabitants looked the greenest of green emigrants. They were former pedlars, shopkeepers, and tailors, but were getting used to tractors ; and one could believe that the young Jews made better mechanical farmers than the former Russian moujiks, because they were intelligent and had no farming habits to unlearn. In his book, quoted above, Wallace remarked : "The experiment of

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making the Jews agriculturists has failed. One has merely to look at these men of gaunt visage and shambling gait, with their black threadbare coats reaching down to their ankles, to understand that they are not in their proper sphere. Their villages remind you of the abomination of desolation. . . ." Our untrained eyes passed an altogether different judgment on those Jewish villages of the Crimea. Everything, indeed, was grimly utilitarian. No attempt at beauty whether in house or garden, and the only ornament propagandist slogans; but good cultivation. Already 10,000 Jewish families were in the region, and the Government had just made available a further 300,000 acres, an area equal to the total holding by Jews at that time in Palestine. While in the one country the difficulty was to find land for the men, in the other it was to get men for the land.

We spent a night at the seaside town, once a fashionable resort, of Eupatoria. For centuries it was a principal centre of the Karaite Sect, Protestant Jews who broke off in the tenth century from the main community, and maintained their separateness in Russia to the present day. The big mosque of the town was originally their synagogue, and several of the windows bore the design of the Shield of David. The Karaites remained, but in the general religious disintegration ceased to count. Another sect whom we found in two villages were Tartar Krimjacks. They are believed to be the descendants of an older Judaized Kingdom in what is now Southern Russia, of the Chazars, who adopted Judaism in the "Dark Ages".

We visited also the former stronghold of this Chazar kingdom, and the chief town of the Crimea when it was part of the Ottoman Empire. It still bears its Turkish name—Bagchi-Serai, meaning the Big Palace—and is inhabited mainly by Tartars, living in their simple disorderly way. Its crooked narrow streets and its thirty-two mosques—some still in use because the Moslems have remained staunchest in their faith—were oddly

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contrasted with scraps of modern road-engineering and incongruous Government buildings in the latest German style, and with clubs from whose windows blazoned, in flaming red slogans, the Communist maxims in the Russian and Tartar language. The town boasts two remarkable pieces of architecture and history; the palace of the Khans, which was given by the Empress Catherine—Shaw's Great Catherine—to her favourite Potemkin; and the subterranean fortress city, Chufut Kale (the Jewish Castle), which dates back to the tenth century, when the Crimea was governed by the dynasty that adopted Judaism. The palace might have stepped straight out of the *Arabian Nights*, with its harems, its selamluks, its fountain of tears, its Persian gardens, its mosques and minarets, its peeping-places for the women, its shooting-towers for the princes. The subterranean city, now deserted of inhabitants, has preserved its ancient synagogue, its mosques, and its caves, the dwellings of an earlier age. It reminded us of that fortress Bittir, near Jerusalem, where the Jews under Bar Cochba made their last desperate stand against the Romans in the seventh century.

Our week in the Crimea showed that the Jew, given the opportunity, can make a successful, intelligent farmer after an amazingly short period of training. The number of Jewish farming families in Russia rose from 15,000 in 1925 to 50,000 in this year (1931); which, with those engaged in the accessory industries, gave a village population of a quarter of a million. That achievement, together with the industrial development, has helped to save the Jew from degradation, and may yet provide the basis for a regeneration of the spirit. It has not offered a solution of the Jewish problem in Russia, but it has prevented the dissolution of the Jewish population.

From the Crimea we returned to Moscow, a thirty-six-hour train journey; and as usual found a Jewish fellow-passenger, an Americanized Russian woman, who

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was the agent for an American machinery corporation. Though mainly productive, the Jews are still in Russia, as before, the intermediaries and the interpreters. We spent two days in Moscow, and had talk with our Ambassador, Sir Esmond Ovey. He was sympathetic with the experiment, though realizing its practical limitations, and worried by its suppression of opinion and freedom of speech. A few years later he was to be a victim of the over-weening suspicions of the Communist Dictator against all foreign influences. Another friend of the great experiment to be disillusioned a few years later was the American correspondent Chamberlin, who looked after us. Most of the staff in the Embassy did not share the sympathy of their chief; and in social life they were perforce completely detached from the Russian service. Our Consul-General at Leningrad, however, Mr. (now Sir) William Bullard, whom I had known at the Colonial Office, had, like the Ambassador, a genuine interest in, and a large sympathy with, his environment. With him we spent two days at Leningrad, while we waited for our Soviet ship to sail.

There was no punctuality about the return journey to London; and our vessel was loading at leisure butter and hides for England. When two days late we were taken aboard, we had to wait in the channel for a further day and a half, while the loading continued, a stevedore Soviet meeting between each load. The two first days gave me the opportunity of watching proceedings in the Russian Courts, and having instruction in their system from the Procurator-General of Leningrad. In the combination of laymen with professional judges who are of the people, in the women's equal part, and in the nationalization of the advocate service, it seemed to me that the cause of justice was served.

The days gave me the opportunity also of meeting at close quarters a Jewish family of the *Intelligentsia*. I went to the synagogue on the Sabbath. As usual, few persons of young or middle age were there. I spoke

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to one of them and found he was a teacher in a high school, but had been a Zionist and a follower of Ahad-Ha'am. He asked me to his house, and I passed some hours with him and his family. His son and daughter, teachers in secondary schools, did not retain any feeling for Jewish observance; but he, in spite of the official discouragement for religious "superstition", was not molested in his synagogue-going or in his pursuit of Hebrew culture, and his children did not scoff.

Our experience of Russian inefficiency did not end when at last we set sail over three days late. We had only gone a few miles down the Neva channel when the pilot took us hard on a sand-bank and we stuck. Tugs came out and pulled. The ice-breaker *Krassin* came out and shoved from the back, all to no purpose. Then after some hours lighters arrived, and began to unload the cargo which the ship's crew had been loading for days. We asked by wireless to be brought back to Leningrad, and a motor-launch came out for us. We were given seats in a plane that was flying the next day to Germany. Flying over the three Baltic states and landing in each for half an hour, we had to obtain, at a price, three transit visas. It was the idyllic interlude of the twenty years' armistice, the day of toy sovereignties. We alighted at Danzig and spent two days there. It was July, 1931. The economic collapse in Austria and Central Europe was beginning. There was unrest, as always in Danzig, between Poles and Germans; incidents about the visit of a German warship. To us coming from Russia with its gaunt economic life Danzig seemed not only singularly beautiful, but after Russian towns amazingly prosperous. The Jews in Danzig were a contented community; partly Poles and partly Germans, they were immune from the national bickerings; and the sword of Damocles was not yet visible. The community was 600 years old; eight years later it was utterly destroyed.

We paid a visit to Gdynia which seemed incredibly

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like Tel Aviv, in its exuberance and its amazingly rapid growth ; and its police wore the same uniform as the Jewish police at Tel Aviv, or was it vice versa ? Only the help of the British Consul enabled us to get over the baffling passport requirements ; and in the end some visa was missing, and we had to deposit our passports with an official and be escorted through the town and the docks. We passed the scrutinies and examinations in the Corridor, and came through Berlin to Holland, and so home, after the most stimulating of our tours in Europe, and with the illusion that a better age was dawning. In fact Germany was on the brink of the abyss. She was reeling from the blows of the world's economic collapse. She had recovered from the first catastrophic crash in the 'twenties, which was largely home-made ; she was impotent against the second in the 'thirties, which was brought about by world causes. And her economic catastrophe was the knell of freedom and peace in a continent.

CHAPTER IX

PALESTINE IN GLIMPSES

1931-1940

DURING all of 1931 I was kept out of Palestine. It was the only year, since I entered with the camels in 1916 to the present day, that I have not sojourned at all in the country. I was engaged in a wearisome wrangle with the Government about my return to office. For some months I was kept dangling at the Colonial Office, engaged intermittently in Palestine questions, while the Administration continued to extend my leave and to inform me that a final decision had not been reached. The Zionist Organization was during part of the period fighting the Government about the Passfield White Paper concerning immigration and settlement, which whittled away the Mandate provisions. It obtained in the end from the Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, a letter explaining away the paper ; and the friction between Jews and Arabs was aggravated by the vacillating Government. The whispering galleries of the East soon spread the story that I was not to return for this reason or that, and that made my efforts to get back more difficult. It was a mistake that I did not force into the open the question of my retirement. I nursed fondly the hope that, if I was quiet and patient, I should be allowed to resume office. But the High Commissioner had made up his mind that I should be an embarrassment ; and the Government entertained the hope that I would be appointed to a Chair of the International Law of Peace, which had been founded at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and it would then be easier for them to retire me. The Chair would be a soft cushion to break my fall.

The Governors of the University, when they met in

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the summer of 1931, decided that it was not for them to help the Government to discard the last of their higher Jewish officials. No appointment was made, and the Government then at last decided that I should be retired from my post.

The grounds given to me were that "the difficulties with which the Administration has contended owing to the peculiar political and racial position of Palestine would not be diminished by your retention of the office of Attorney-General". Within a few days the Labour Government had passed into the National Government, and Lord Passfield was no longer Colonial Secretary; but his successor, Mr. J. H. Thomas, was not prepared to reconsider the case.

So I cast off, nilly, the *indignia* of office, and resumed my barrister's chambers in Lincoln's Inn. We leased a house in the Vale of Health on Hampstead Heath—the name might have belonged to a Jewish village in Palestine—which is one of the genuine hamlets left in the heart of suburban London. In spite of its name it is on the roof of London. Once the home of Byron and Leigh-Hunt, the "valeagers" included within one generation George Grossmith and Olga Nethersole of the stage, D. H. Lawrence and Compton-Mackenzie of writers, Edgar Wallace of the thrillers, William Lamb and Stanley Spencer of the painters, the Hammonds of social reformers, and Fred Gray, the gypsy king of 'Appy 'Ampstead Fair and the owner of the Vale Public-house and the roundabouts. And our neighbour, Lady Hermione Blackwood, daughter of the great Lord Dufferin, bought her house with fishing rights over the pond which framed the Vale.

My wife, who had been a passive socialist, restrained by my official trammels, could now become an active member of the Labour Party. Her activity complicated the question of my return to Palestine in a private capacity. She wanted to live her life mainly in England. I felt bound to the country which had been my goal for

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twenty years. Early in 1932 I was invited to take the much-canvassed Chair at the University and consented, with a reservation, which was a compromise. I should lecture and be resident during one only of the two terms of the year ; and for the rest I should be free to study international relations wherever I pleased, and take part in international movements outside the country. Henceforth I was to be again, as I had been before the War, half anchored and half-hearted ; and amphibiously, like Persephone, to spend part of my time in the upper regions and part in the nether regions. A man's character is his "dæmon", and I relapsed half-consciously into halfness. In Palestine itself I was "wandering between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born" ; the Palestine of the administration which I had left, and the ideal Palestine in which Jews and Arabs would co-operate in peace. Jerusalem was the appropriate place, without a doubt, to lecture on the International Law of Peace ; but to bring about peaceful international relations between its two nationalities was another story. I was reminded constantly of the Rabbinical maxim : "It is not the doctrine but the deed which is essential" ; and an English counterpart : "Those who can, do, and those who cannot, teach."

About the time that I was appointed at Jerusalem, my former chief in Egypt, Sir Maurice Amos, was appointed Professor of Comparative Law at London University ; and a quotation in his inaugural lecture was pertinent to my feeling about the Chair. Cicero remarked about Juris-Consults that, as musicians who failed to distinguish themselves on the harp took to the flute, so those men who have failed at the Bar become the Juris-Consults. Though I was now released from official trammels, the University was not to be for me a place where the mind would be at rest ; and circumstance was to destroy academic quiet. I was a better vagabond than sitter.

We returned to Palestine in February, 1932 : I was

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to give immediately my first course at the Hebrew University. The chair had been created by an English Jew who was devoted to the cause of international and industrial peace, and had established chairs at several English Universities, either for international relations or industrial relations. At Jerusalem, where the message of universal peace was given to humanity, he wished the Chair to be devoted simply to the subject of peace.

I chose as the theme of my first course of lectures the Religious Foundations of Internationalism, and my inaugural lecture was on "Jerusalem, City of Peace". It turned out an ironical performance. A large crowd was gathered; I was presented by Dr. Magnes, the Chancellor of the University, and began my Hebrew talk. At the end of my first sentence there was noisy and persistent interruption. "I should go and talk peace to the Arabs and to the Mufti of Jerusalem." After a long hubbub I continued; immediately the uproar started again, this time accompanied by stink-bombs and sheafs of pamphlets. The attempts of the University authorities to restore order failed; and some British police, who were up to direct the traffic, were called in. The disturbers were ejected, the police remained in the hall, and guarded by them, I was able to continue to the end with my lecture on Jerusalem, the City of Peace.

It was an admirable opportunity for the cartoonist, and was used. Unbeknown to me, the establishment of the Chair, as well as my appointment to it, were resented by a section of the students and a section of the general public. They were the Revisionists or New Zionists, whose insistent demand was a Jewish State and a Jewish army, and whose policy towards the English administration was described as "to shake a mailed fist of papier-maché". They associated me with a group who had been active in Palestine for several years, known as "Brit-Shalom" (The Covenant of Peace). The policy of the group was to conciliate the Jews and Arabs and to bring about the largest co-operation in economic,

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political, and social life. They were in favour of the introduction of representative institutions on a democratic basis, and also of common working in economic enterprises by Jews and Arabs.

It had been obvious to a few of the leaders, and particularly to a group at the University in which Dr. Magnes, Dr. Bergmann, and Dr. Ruppin were prominent, that the principal political aim should be not the maximum immigration but an understanding with the Arabs. We needed a surer foundation of Jewish and Arab elements compounded together for the social life in Palestine, which should stand the human quakes, just as we needed a surer concrete foundation for our buildings to stand the earthquakes. That conviction was expressed emphatically by Professor Einstein when I visited him in his cottage at Caputh near Potsdam, during my stay in Berlin in 1930. He would not remain associated, he said, with the Zionist movement unless it tried to make peace with the Arabs in deed as well as in word. The Jews should form committees with the Arab peasants and workers, and not only try to negotiate with the leaders. There was no need for a Jewish majority in Palestine, which could not anyhow be the principal place of refuge for the Jewish mass. It proved impossible to persuade the community that they must not only take the initiative in seeking understanding, but must persist in the effort despite a lack of response from the Arab side : that, in fact, peace must be sought by unilateral act and deed.

I was in general agreement with this broad policy, what was called "lion-and-lambing", although I did not approve of some of the specific proposals, and was not a member of the group. The Revisionists were represented in the student body, which was already more than half composed of immigrants educated in Central Europe. Poland was their main centre, and Jabotinsky their Fuehrer. In their efforts and their methods as well as in their ideology, they had resemblances to the Nazis, enough to give a certain aptness to the short name of

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their organization (formed with the initial letters of the long title), Nazos. Besides dislike of my political heresies, the Revisionist students objected to the standpoint about professional schools which I had taken before my appointment, when I was Deputy-Chancellor and Treasurer of the University. I deprecated the formation of a Law School because it seemed undesirable that we should indulge in a multiplication of Jewish lawyers in the National Home; and I stood for the development of research as against teaching of undergraduates, particularly in professional subjects. They demanded a normal university for the Jewish youth of Europe, to whom that boon was denied in their several countries. Why should we not have in the Jewish National Home a college for thousands of young men and women who might become there doctors, lawyers, and the like? Events were to justify them.

The petty incident had extravagant consequences. Dr. Magnes, who during the year of my absence had been the butt of constant attack from the Chauvinists because of his championship of the democratic policy, took a serious view. Several of the ringleaders were rusticated; and then, in the regular tradition of students of Central Europe, a strike and a boycott of my lectures were proclaimed. It was not a good beginning—I was a stormy petrel still—but it was some comfort to learn that the establishment of the Chair for Peace at the University of Lyons, a little before, was accompanied by similar protests. M. Herriot, then Premier of France and perpetual Mayor of Lyons, attended the inaugural lecture, and the police had to be called in, as at Jerusalem, to deal with disturbers. Peace, strangely, is the most provocative of academic topics.

Apart from the incident, renewed life in Palestine was as pleasant as one could wish. A new High Commissioner, General Sir Arthur Wauchope, had replaced Sir John Chancellor, who retired at the end of 1931, and he was happier than his predecessor in the office.

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Though a soldier throughout his previous career, he had essentially the artist's mind in which will and feeling are one. One of my sisters, when she saw him first, remarked that he was a Galsworthy type of sensitive English gentleman. He had also what is essential for the government of Palestine, a fixed faith, a sense of a mission in the office, and a deep feeling for the history of the country; and he was devoted, as Plumer had been, to the well-being of all the peoples in it. If he had little tuition in civil affairs, he had much human intuition.

He insisted on being in personal touch with every part and every section of the life of the communities. He got his knowledge of the country by seeing people and things all day and every day: and disregarded files. In Baghdad, during the War, he was dubbed General Haroun el Rashid, because of his habit of going around the lines at night unattended, and mixing with the men. The Arabs of Palestine were apt to find nicknames for their rulers. He was Kabood (Grasshopper): his predecessor was "Malik" (King); the head of the police, whose name was Spicer, was "Filfil", i.e. Pepper; and Ronald Storrs was "Cinema". Wauchope set himself at once to understand the Zionist policy and to be friends with the Jewish leaders. He was devoted to two of them, Chaim Arlosoroff, the brilliant Labour intellectual who had succeeded Colonel Kisch as the political head of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, and Shemarya Levin, veteran member of the first Duma, orator and writer, who was full of a ripe wisdom and infectious enthusiasm. The murder of Arlosoroff in 1933, at the hands, it was suspected, of Revisionists, and the death of Levin in 1936 were deep personal griefs to him. Sympathetic with every intellectual and artistic aspect of the Renaissance, he took a constant interest in our University.

Sir Arthur unattended would take me for walks to the villages around Jerusalem. He liked to burst into the village's guest-hut, and using me as a bad interpreter,

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learn about their crops and their wishes. In his first years he was convinced about the Jewish National Home ; nothing would keep it back. The future of the country was bound up with it. And the progress during that period of four years, for which he was appointed, was amazing.

My lectures were interrupted by a recall to England, to appear in the House of Lords in an appeal concerning the liability to English income tax of the Jewish National Fund, the body which acquires the land in Palestine for Jewish settlement. I had foolishly thought that there was a chance of success after Sir John Simon, in the Court of Appeal, had failed to convince the court that the purposes of the fund were purely charitable, in the artificial sense of the term of English law. The appeal failed ; and I was prevented by it from going out on a different legal errand which promised more novel adventure. I had been briefed to appear before the British Consular Court in Shanghai about a disputed will of a Jewish millionaire, originally from Baghdad, who had left his fortune to a Chinese wife. His disappointed poor relations contested the will on the ground that his personal status was governed by Jewish or Moslem law, which, in either case, had more regard for kith and kin. I had to throw up the brief, and missed the chance of seeing the International Settlement of Shanghai in its last glamorous days, before the Japanese wrecked their destructive will upon it.

Disappointed in my forensic efforts, I returned to Jerusalem in the summer of 1932, and completed my course of lectures, leaving my wife in London to contest her first Parliamentary Election, the forlorn hope of respectable Dulwich. For her it was the beginning of political experience which was to bring her into the London County Council as a co-opted member of Committees, and, in 1937, as elected member for Kensington.

On the second return journey that year I stayed at Geneva, lecturing at the Institute of International

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Studies, which is directed by Professor Rappard. It was my first serious introduction to the international society of Geneva, which I was to come to know well in the next years. The doom of frustration and growing impotence had not yet fallen on the League, although the shadows of the Japan-China dispute were growing. Rappard's Institute was another of the genuine achievements of international education. The students were university graduates drawn from many countries ; and the Professors included a remarkable group of exiles for conscience, such as in the Victorian age might have been found in the reading-room of the British Museum. They comprised Professor Fereiro, a brilliant historian, driven from his native Italy, who had an undying passion for democratic freedom ; Professor Scelle, of Paris, who had been driven by nationalist student clamour from the Chair of Public Law at the Sorbonne ; Professor Kelsen, the bright light of modern German jurisprudence both in Vienna and in Bonn, who was not yet dispossessed of his Chairs in the German Universities, but was soon to be.

Rappard himself had the international mind in its excellence. A Swiss who knew all Europe and America equally well, and spoke three languages like a native, he was an expert economist and one of the world's recognized teachers of political science. He had been the first director of the Mandates Section of the League, and continued to be a member of the Permanent Mandates Commission ; and he was one of the delegates of Switzerland each year to the Assembly. He knew everybody at Geneva in the international enclave, and knew everything that was happening. He would comment bitterly on the lack of seriousness with which the statesmen of Europe dealt with the great issues of the League.

They were not deeply concerned with international questions. To them their home politics meant most ; they would go through the hoops at Geneva, but did not feel a direct responsibility. They cared little that their

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decision might involve the lives of millions of people, provided only that it would relieve them of immediate trouble in their national assembly. About the Disarmament Conference, which was then sitting or adjourning in Geneva, Rappard was sceptical. Arthur Henderson was making a courageous fight to achieve something, but the personal jealousy of Ramsay MacDonald to him endangered the success of the Conference. And the military and naval experts who composed the national delegations were comparable with conferences of butchers discussing how to introduce vegetarianism.

Geneva offered another intercourse to me; the Syrian-Palestine Committee, which upheld the Arab nationalist claims before the League. Its directors were the Emir Arslan, a Druse, and Ihsan Bey 'Jabri, from Syria, who was the father-in-law of my former colleague, Moussa Alami. I would discuss with them the possibilities of understanding between Jew and Arab; but I was always brought up against the iron wall of security against a Jewish majority. Immigration must be regulated to this end. On the other side the Jewish leaders wanted immigration to be regulated in such a way that the Jews might become in course of time a majority. The criterion of economic absorptive capacity, which had been adopted in the White Paper of the British Government of 1922, allowed that possibility, and they would not give it up.

My week of lecturing at Geneva coincided with another international conference, about War Reparations, that was taking place at Lausanne. I went over there to see M. Herriot, then Premier of France, not about the business of the conference but about our University. I was to get a message from him to the Jewish Community of France which, with the single exception of Edmond de Rothschild, took little practical interest in the University. I was commended to him by the Jewish Vice-Mayor of Lyons, Professor Emmanuel Levy, who had a remarkable combination of hermit-like devotion to abstract legal study with fiery Socialist activity. I had

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spent a day with Levy in the supreme city of the bourgeois where he showed me the Ghetto inhabited unbrokenly for over 1,000 years. With Herriot I had the common bond of interest in Philo-Judæus, of Alexandria. In his student days—and while he was doing his conscript service—he had written a lively study of the Hellenistic-Jewish philosopher. He was willing enough to commend our University; but when I went on to Paris, I found it wanted more than that to obtain anything from the community.

My only fruitful contact was with Edmond de Rothschild. I saw him in his Japanese garden at Boulogne-sur-Seine. An old man approaching his 90th year, with sight and hearing impaired, he yet was full of vitality and undimmed interest in all that was happening in Palestine and in Geneva. The Jews in Palestine should not depend on the Government or outside organizations but on themselves. He blamed England for playing Germany's and Italy's game against France. It was essential for the peace of the world that the two Western democracies must stand together. England had been weak with the Arabs; she did not realize that she needed a friendly people in the Middle East, and only the Jews could be that. England, France, and the Jews should stand together to uphold European influences in the East. He was convinced that something significant would come out of Palestine. When he started to help the Jewish colonists there nearly fifty years before, everybody opposed him. Even the Rabbis were sceptical and thought the enterprise futile; but he had faith, and he had acquired 100,000 acres for Jewish land settlement. He blamed the United States for the poverty and distress in the world. She had drawn the gold from Europe, and would not take goods in payment of the debts of the European borrowers. She was the modern Midas, getting gold to her own hurt.

During that summer in England I discussed with Professor Alexander, of Manchester, and with Mahatma

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Gandhi the question of peace between the Palestine communities. Alexander said that circumstances had made the Jews stand for social justice and international understanding. He was sure that, if Spinoza had been brought up in the same way as Locke, who was born in the same year, his philosophy would have been quite different. What was striking in the Jewish philosophers, for example Spinoza and Bergson, was a combination of mysticism and science. Yet that was not racial, and many non-Jews have what may be regarded as Hebraic character. Gandhi stressed the need for the personal organization of peace amongst the religious and spiritual bodies. Men and women of all creeds came to live in his house in India. They talked together and came to feel a common understanding. I suggested that he should go out to Jerusalem and seek to bring about understanding between Arabs and Jews in that way, but he was too occupied with the problems of India. I stayed while he was interviewed by a persistent woman journalist. The Disarmament Conference was resuming its meetings in Geneva, and she pressed him to give a message to the English people about the Conference. He refused, saying that was a matter for statesmen. She would not be stopped ; it was a matter of the greatest importance to give his message. "No," he said, "it is a matter of £50 for you, my good woman. But I hope you will get it."

Another meeting of that summer was with Kerensky, who made two political judgments, of which one was as falsified as the other was confirmed by the event. Hitler was an imitation Mussolini, and had destroyed his cause by organizing a strike with the Communists, which showed he was a mere party politician. The French were suffering from a "psychose" towards Germans, obsessed by the idea that Germany would invade France again and France be helpless against her.

As a link between Palestine and England some of us who had served in Palestine formed a Dining Club

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which we called the "Paladin": a compendious name à la Russe for Palestine and dinner. The club included some sixty members—half Jews and half Gentiles—who had been associated with Palestine in a civil, military, literary, or some other capacity. We met about four times a year, and held a discussion on some aspect of the country.

Our members included all the High Commissioners, Malcolm MacDonald and Lord Snell, W. J. Turner and Humbert Wolfe, Wyndham Deedes and Ronald Storrs, Weizmann and Meinertzhagen, Mark Freedman and Louis Golding, Abercrombie and Ashbee. There was no report of the discussions and the talking was free. Our most lively meetings were those when Weizmann came down and gave us a review of the position in the land.

I crossed the Mediterranean once more in the autumn, and was in Jerusalem for the winter term. The days of prosperity were beginning and Jewish immigration was resumed on a larger scale than at any time since 1925. The Nazi spectre was looming, though the Nazi terror had not yet burst out, and the Jews of Germany were beginning to turn to Palestine as a home for themselves. During the next three years that rarity, the virtuous economic circle, operated. Capital flowed into Palestine, and establishing enterprises gave openings for larger immigration. The immigrants had new demands which called for further enterprises, and so on. The immigration, in fact, amounted in 1933 to 30,000, in 1934 to 40,000, and in 1935 to 65,000. The face of the land was changed agriculturally and industrially. The word "prosperity" was adopted into Hebrew. There were, of course, some adverse features. It was said that the Jewish National Home had "materialized" in both senses, and an unwelcome boom in land engendered private speculation. Yet the general development of the country was amazing. The building of the harbour at Haifa revolutionized the place of Haifa in the commercial and industrial life of the Middle East. The pipe-line also, which brought oil

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from the largest oilfield in the world in Iraq to the sea at Haifa, had been completed, and its laying brought work and prosperity to Transjordan. British and Dutch air routes passed through the land and brought it within a day and a half of England. While the rest of the world was suffering depression and grappling with unemployment, Palestine was experiencing under-employment, a lack of labour, especially in the towns. That produced a back-to-the-town movement from the villages, and a considerable Arab immigration. As Jews could not go to Transjordan, it was said, the Arabs were coming from Transjordan to the Jews.

God made geography but once, and Palestine, which in antiquity and in the Middle Ages was the meeting-place of peoples and a highway of the world's trade, was made that again by British administration combined with Jewish enterprise. Another important factor in the change was the immigration of German Jews. Many of the young men and women turned to new vocations in their new home, dropping the intellectual professions and preparing themselves for manual work, for cultivation of the soil, or in the factory, in the villages and communal settlements of the towns; but many were able to bring some fraction of their capital, and what was more important, experience, method, and science from their former home. In every aspect of life they established new standards. Hundreds of German doctors were registered, and some hundreds of lawyers aspired to pass the examination for advocates. German architects designed public buildings and new urban quarters. The most distinguished of them was Erich Mendelssohn, who had been famous in Germany for his functional style. Eloquent in speech as in concrete he was enthusiastic about the creative impulse which Palestine inspired. He would establish a new school, and save the people from the crude imitation of the European style that was not suitable to the landscape. Our buildings must not be a reproduction of European architecture any

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more than our nationalism must be an imitation of European nationalism. Palestine should symbolize the union between the most modern civilization and the most antique culture.

I watched the changes at intervals, with long intermissions, because during this period I was a peripatetic *in partibus infidelium*. The growing and urgent problem of German Jewry occupied me, and I was in Jerusalem for but short periods in each succeeding year. I was only the observer of what was happening ; and more active for the University than in the University. My occupation with practical work in one small aspect of international relations, the treatment of refugees, left little time for the teaching of international relations. And the relations that mattered most in Palestine did not improve.

Inevitably the sensational Jewish progress and the increased immigration excited violent opposition of the Arab political leaders. They saw it as a flood advancing over the country and sweeping them away from their domination. The High Commissioner—whose term was renewed for another five years—was anxious to give an outlet to political feeling in a Legislative Assembly, which should contain a majority of elected members. But the Jews opposed, wanting Numbers before Deuteronomy ; and the plan was so severely criticized when it was submitted to the English Parliament that it was dropped. Its dropping in April, 1936, was the signal for a national Arab strike, which passed into a determined Arab revolt. Palestine was not to have peace again till the world had plunged into war.

When I came back in September, 1936, the scene had changed again. Palestine had passed from the period of prosperity to a period of crossness, or "the troubles", that were to be as long protracted. For six months the Arabs who, it was said, were given to riotous living, had been in open rebellion against the Government. The High Commissioner's humanity, his love for the country and both its peoples, made him unwilling to grapple

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firmly with the rebels. The Arab Higher Committee, it was said, had more power than the High Commissioner. Ample military forces had been sent from England to quell the disturbance. They were held back by the civil authority from taking drastic measures; and the position was described as "revolt by leave". As Rappard remarked at Geneva: Government by persuasion is persuasion, not Government.

The revolt had ceased—or at least there was an armistice—when I went out. The Administration and the people were awaiting the arrival of the Royal Commission which was to examine the grievances of both sides, and advise about the measures which should prevent a recurrence. Once again the roots of the plant of the Jewish National Home were to be pulled up for inspection. The Commission was a more august body than its predecessors. The first riots of 1921 were investigated by a local Commission of officers of the Administration. The outbreak of 1929 was investigated by a Parliamentary Commission. The revolt of 1936 was inquired into by half a dozen Commissioners chosen for their wide knowledge of public affairs.

I was asked to give evidence before the Commission and did so, *in camera*, dealing with the general relations of Arabs and Jews. Wild stories went around about my testimony, and I had again to suffer a boycott of the students at the University. It soon petered out; but the growth of the totalitarian spirit, the nationalisation of the soul, in our councils was ominous.

That year I had a fresh experience, broadcasting on international affairs from the Jerusalem Station, first in English and then in Hebrew. The programmes were in three languages, but of different content. When the service was initiated in the spring of 1936, it was hoped that it would be a powerful instrument for knitting the population together. The hope was vain. Its news bulletins, for the better part of the next three years, were to give the details of internecine strife.

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The more striking experience that winter, however, was the inauguration of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra which Toscanini conducted in its first concerts. It was the most heartening event for the Jewish population since the opening of the Hebrew University in 1925 ; and the more stirring because for six months social and musical life had been restricted by the barrier of the curfew. It seemed to open a new era, that the greatest of living musicians recognized Palestine as one of the world-centres of music, and registered his protest against the totalitarian persecution of artists on account of their race, by conducting concerts in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv when he refused to go to Germany and Italy. The protest was registered also by one of the outstanding German "Aryan" violinists of the day, Adolph Busch, who came as the soloist with the orchestra. The contrast was marked of Huberman, the temperamental and high-strung Jewish creator of the orchestra, by the side of Toscanini and Busch, two artists who have sprung from the soil and who, in their different way, breathed a sublime tranquillity.

In England I found a growing willingness to consider the policy of Arab-Jewish understanding ; and, to my surprise, I was elected as a delegate from England to the Zionist Congress in the summer of 1937. Twenty-five years had passed since I had been a delegate. It was the fortieth anniversary of the first assembly at Basle. A generation had passed and the dream had become drama. But the idea had become ideology and dogma. Before the Congress met, the Royal Commission submitted its Report with the proposal of the Tri-partition of the country into Arab State, Jewish State, and British Mandated corridor-territory between them. The Government, with precipitate hopefulness, adopted the Report. To me that solution seemed unacceptable ; as a politicians' setting asunder of what God had joined together ; but it was possible to use the proposal as a Judgment of Solomon and a means of preserving the child. The Arab

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leaders were from the outset opposed to a Jewish State at the European window of the Arab hinterland ; and in the weeks which followed the publication of the Report, it looked as if Jewish and Arab leaders might get together to find a basis of understanding which would avoid a division abhorrent to both peoples. I had talks with Jemal Husseini, the Secretary of the Arab Higher Committee, who was in London, and obtained his general agreement for the principles that : (a) both Jews and Arabs are in Palestine as of right ; (b) both communities are opposed to a partition of their common home ; (c) the Arabs recognize the moral right of the Jews to a home in Palestine and their right to immigrate, subject to certain restriction ; and (d) the British Mandate should come to an end after a period of years. The crux of agreement was the measure of immigration during the next period. The Arabs demanded a definite limit, the Jews that economic absorptive capacity should be the sole test.

I hoped that it would be possible to arrange informal meetings in Switzerland, during the sittings of the Congress, between representatives of the Arabs who were at Geneva and the Jewish leaders, with a view to a truce. That was not to be. The Congress was drawn by Weizmann's magnetic leadership—which seemed to me to miss for once statesmanship—to endorse partition in principle ; and that decision challenged the hostility of the Arabs.

I remained in the woods of Zionist politics. I was a "Kaffir", in the literal Arabic-Hebrew sense of heretic. The partition proposal, though put forward as a way to peace, manifestly did not achieve that object. Arab hostility was more uncompromising to a Jewish State in a third of Palestine than to the Mandate policy of establishing a Jewish National Home in an undivided Palestine. The revolt was resumed and was attended by more unrestrained terrorism. When I was next in Palestine, in the spring of 1938, the country had passed into another stage, more

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uncomfortable than the last. It was beset by rebel bands, and was almost in a state of siege. Movement was narrowly restricted. Every day were incidents in Jerusalem, though fortunately the bombs made more noise than damage. But the cleavage between the communities and the bitterness of both Jews and Arabs toward the Administration were tragically growing; and though I kept my contact with Arab friends of the past days, the hope of finding a basis of political compromise steadily receded. I had a comic example of segregation when, walking to the Wailing Wall during the Passover, I passed a venerable Jewish beggar soliciting alms, and gave him a coin. "Are you a Jew," he asked in Yiddish. I said, "Yes." "Then I will take your charity, but I would not if you were a 'Goy'" (Gentile).

The position was still exacerbated at my next visit in 1939, for German and Italian intrigues were multiplied with the Arab Junta. In the meantime the British Government had held what was designed to be a Palestine Conference of Arabs and Jews, but turned out to be a series of unilateral talks by the Government with Arab and Jewish deputations. The meetings, elaborately prepared and staged at St. James's Palace, where the Mandate for Palestine had been adopted by the League Council in 1922, failed to find any basis of accord. And the Government, in default of any agreement, imposed its policy on the two parties.

I was in Jerusalem in May, 1939, when the statement was announced. Its content had been intelligently and passionately anticipated. The proceedings at the Conference had indicated clearly enough that Chamberlain's Cabinet of faint-hearted appeasement was preparing to whittle down to the minimum the promise about the Jewish National Home, and to go back on the principle, which had been affirmed time and again, of Jews being as of right in Palestine. The emotions of the Jewish people were worked up in the Hebrew Press, and through other organizations; and when the announcement came,

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all was prepared for a solid national demonstration of passive resistance. Their patience, after three years of self-restraint in the face of constant terrorism, was frayed to the breaking point. As an observer coming fresh to the country, I was worried by the widening of the gap between the communities ; but when the terms of the White Paper were broadcast, I felt, with everybody else, instinctive indignation. This was betrayal, more offensive because it was wrapped up in the verbiage of goodwill. In the demonstrations that followed for several days, thousands of men and women, boys and girls marched in the streets to record visibly their protests ; the Chief Rabbis bearing the Scrolls of the Law at the head of the procession, the children marshalled from their schools, the veteran women workers leading a band of women to the District Commissioner's office. But there was one relieving feature ; the Arabs kept quiet.

A few days after the publication of the Paper, I was present at a gathering which represented many sections of Jewish opinion in Jerusalem, the extremes of the Orthodox Aguda and the Left Wing of the Labour Federation, university professors, merchants, captains of industry, and workmen. The gathering was unanimous on two principles : (1) that the Jewish protest must be absolutely peaceful, and any policy of non-co-operation must be conducted by peaceful means ; and (2) that the Jews must continue to seek a way of understanding with the Arabs of Palestine and the neighbouring countries. It seemed even then that what the Government had, perhaps unwittingly, parted asunder, the common man of the two peoples might yet join together. Certain it was, and is, that, as one of the Jewish Labour leaders wrote thirty years ago, what mattered for the Jews of Palestine was to establish peace with the Arabs rather than to talk and write of world peace.

A few weeks which I spent in Jerusalem in 1940 were heartening. The contrast of mood between that spring and the last was amazing. In May, 1940, peace reigned

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within ; the whole country was tranquil ; no permits were required for movement ; no barriers remained on the roads ; no patrols scoured the streets and highways ; the relations between Jews and Arabs were human and normal ; the two peoples dealt with each other, travelled with each other. External war had brought internal peace. The Jews, too, were giving up, if they had not already abandoned, the trench warfare in which they had been engaged with the Administration. And when, a little later, Italy came into the war and Palestine ceased to be on the periphery of the conflict, and became, as in 1917, a nodal point in the Middle East theatre, they dropped their transient differences with the British Government and were eager to take their full part in the struggle.

Moreover, in spite of rebellion and terror, conferences and White Papers, the constructive and creative life of Palestine went on without break. It exemplified Bergson's principle of the *élan vital*, in which the whole past of the Jewish people was present. There, and there only, the Jew felt himself master of his destiny. In the country new settlements were constantly planted, many of them between dawn and dusk of one day, with a stockade and a light tower to protect them at once against attack. The youth in their thousands were cultivating the soil and building up industries. Their agricultural cultivation was declared by one of the experts of the United States Government to be the most remarkable devotion to land and reclamation of land in any country. The new generation, sprung from divers regions and knit together in the schools, was growing up steadfast and upstanding. The Hebrew University, the crown of the intellectual renaissance, expanded from year to year. A modern hospital and an Institute of Medical Research were inaugurated on Mount Scopus, the work of Jewish hands and manned by some of the best Jewish brains. Jerusalem was recognized more and more as the intellectual centre of Jewry and one of the world's intellectual centres,

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where learning and science were salvaged. An orchestra had been formed from the exiled musicians of many countries, which would compare with that of any country of Europe or America. Painting, sculpture, and the drama flourished in a conscious effort to develop a Hebraic style. The output of Hebrew literature was multiplied. A social order was working itself out in town and country which commanded universal attention. Here was Socialism in being without any State intervention. Whatever the political barometer, Palestine inspired a creative energy, which would not be destroyed by opportunist concession to the forces of reaction.

The twenty years that have passed since the Palestine Mandate was conferred have been a criss-cross of fulfilment and frustration. What has been achieved in the growth of the Jewish and the Arab population, the redemption of the land by Jewish labour, the raising of the standard of life of the Arabs, the economic development of the country, the spread of Western civilization, the social experiments, the intellectual harvest, the cultural revival of Jews and Arabs, the spiritual regeneration, is the many sided expression of a creative will. It has seemed to be threatened, during the last period, by the failure to solve the problems of the ethical and political relations of the two resurgent peoples. There is no way out on the old lines of each people demanding to be the sovereign majority. The problem is of the same kind as many of Europe, but it has been aggravated by the agony of dissolution which the Jews of Central Europe have suffered. The Jewish people, if any in the world, need "Lebensraum". But that cannot be found in little, binational, Palestine alone, even in Biblical Palestine. The relations of the two peoples must be adjusted in a larger whole. What is required above all is not more land, but more sky, the ampler horizon of co-operation ; and that may perhaps be found if a federal system of the Semitic countries puts an end to the struggle for independent national sovereignties. As Lawrence, the

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supreme exponent in the last War of the Arab national revival, recognized, the Jews have a part to play among all the Arab peoples. War is a forcible teacher ; it may be also a forcible healer. It has already brought about a measure of conciliation in Palestine, and stopped the sub-war of terrorism which was being waged. Jews, Arabs, and English have reached implicitly a *détente* in the war. They should reach in the peace openly an entente. The common peril has brought together, as common interests failed to bring together, the three peoples whose destiny has been bound up in the country since the last war. Palestine is again pregnant with future.

CHAPTER X
THE REFUGEE TRAIL. I
THE LEAGUE HIGH COMMISSION

1933-1935

WHEN I returned from Jerusalem to England at the end of March, 1933, the sudden horror and terror of the Hitler regime were staggering opinion in Europe. What some Jews in Germany had feared, but most had refused to believe, was coming to pass. The Nazi party was executing ruthlessly—to use its favourite adverb—the principle that persons who had any element of Jewish race should be excluded from the public life of Germany, and should cease to enjoy the rights of citizens and the rights of man. It is not proposed here to deal either with the deeper causes of the relapse into barbarism, or with the measures first of discrimination, and then of savage persecution, by the Nazi Government against Jews and “non-Aryans” and all who held liberal opinions. They have been the subject of many, too many, books.

Jewry everywhere was roused to consciousness. It realized that the foundations of Jewish emancipation as well as of European liberalism were being undermined. The sense of the brotherhood of Israel was more completely evoked by persecution than it had been by the prospect of national restoration. At the same time Palestine took on an enhanced importance for the leaders everywhere, whether Zionist or non-Zionist, as the principal haven. German Jewry itself, which had been sharply divided into two camps, the “Zentralverein”, who regarded themselves as Germans of the Jewish persuasion, and the Zionists who regarded themselves as German citizens of Jewish nationality, was at one in looking to the National Home as a Land of Promise for the young generation.

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Statesmen and public opinion did not appreciate, during the first period of the Nazi regime, how thorough and inflexible was the anti-Semitic policy and how integral a part of the attack on civilization. It was fondly believed that by international pressure it would be possible to bring about mitigation if not a cessation. The first efforts, then, to which the general and the Jewish organizations were directed, were the marshalling of the organs of the League of Nations, of the Chanceries of Europe, and of public opinion. Protest meetings addressed by the leaders of the churches and of the political parties were held in many countries, and passed high-sounding resolutions. Perhaps German Jewry owed it to the surviving shred of respect for humanity that the savagery did not attain its peak till 1938.

My first activity was academic. I was engaged with a group of jurists, which included Sir John Fischer-Williams and Professor Lauterpacht, in elaborating the obvious, as lawyers do, and preparing a statement which showed that Germany had violated the principles of international law in her treatment of racial and political minorities. At Geneva a petition was presented by a Jew, who was a Government employee in Upper Silesia, asking the Council of the League to declare that the application of the "Aryan" Decrees in German Silesia was a violation of the Minority Treaty, which Germany and Poland had signed in relation to that region. Germany was still a member of the League; and the petition, after a round of preliminary skirmishing, was considered by the Council. The complaint was upheld, and the German representative had to explain that the application of the Decrees in this part of the Reich was due to a local error.

A militant Jewish party, which was supported in many countries by Trade Unions and Left Wing groups, called for an economic boycott of German trade, and believed that by economic pressure the German Government could be brought to its knees. I had no part in

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that campaign, which was founded in wishful willing and an illusion of Jewish commercial power in the world. Many of us feared that it would have as its consequence the greater oppression of the helpless Jews in Germany. The Jews, in fact, like the League of Nations seemed, but were not, an international force.

My main activity was at Geneva, the home of all causes, and half my spiritual home for the next three years. Geneva has a certain austere spiritual quality as the city not only of the League but also of Calvin, Knox, Rousseau, and Voltaire. One feels the Hebraic spirit in that church of Calvin which dominates the old town, in its chapel of Maccabees, and in the Monument of the Reformation with the legend : " If we cannot be of one religion, then let us be of one intention."

Through Calvin's church it has provided a link between Switzerland, Scotland, Holland, the U.S.A., and South Africa ; and in all those countries, as in England, the Calvinist doctrine holds that politics may be an instrument for realizing justice in the world. President Wilson was the supreme exponent in modern times of his creed, and it was fitting that the League he designed with that aim should have its home in Calvin's city. Geneva, too, inspired the idea of a union of religions to bring about peace and justice in the world. Her child, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, conceived one universal religion of humanity and social right, based on the common ethics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The idea on a larger scale had been revived after the War by American Divines ; and in the year that the Nazi persecution began, a conference of all creeds was planned at Geneva which should bring about world peace through the churches. It was postponed and then abandoned. The body of a world-league required for its soul a world-religion, or at least a league of religions, and a feeling for a common humanity. But, like the political ideal, this religious ideal was not followed through. Not enough people felt ardently about it. For the next six years

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Geneva was a centre of illusion and disillusion, a heart-break house of the Utopians. I attended during these years the Assemblies of the League and many of the meetings of the Council, and watched the decline and fall, the lack of conviction and faith, the steady deflation of international currency.

With Neville Laski, the President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, I went out there in the early summer, when the League Council was dealing with the Bernheim petition, and the Federation of the League of Nations Societies was discussing Nazi persecution, and a Jewish delegation from Palestine denounced to its face a German half-Nazi delegation. On our way we passed through Amsterdam and Brussels to consult with the heads of the Jewish communities. The stream of refugees, which was to continue seven years, was already flowing over the frontiers of France, Holland, and Belgium, and the need of closer co-operation of the Jewish bodies was recognized. The island shores of England could not be so readily penetrated. We skimmed the cream, the eminent men of science and learning and the men of business and industry who had friends in this country that could be sponsors for them ; but we were not yet giving asylum to helpless outcasts. Looking back, it seems a bitter irony that we strove to bring out tens of thousands to the countries adjoining the Reich, where they were a helpless prey in the cataclysm of 1940.

At Geneva we consulted with the heads of the League Secretariat. The advice from Ascarate, then the Deputy Secretary-General and head of the Minority Section (later to be Ambassador of the Spanish Republic in England), from Sean Lester, later to be High Commissioner in Danzig, as well as from Lord Cecil and Arthur Henderson, was that nothing would be gained by further demonstration at the Council and Assembly against the German policy. Every endeavour should be made to obtain the co-operation of the German Government in a scheme of emigration and the adjustment

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of Jewish economic life in Germany. Outside the League Jewish efforts should be directed to practical measures, and not to the holding of a public congress, as proposed by American-Jewish leaders, which would register strongly worded resolutions, and then—? I flew from Geneva to Frankfort and Berlin and met the heads of the community. Already a large measure of union of the Jewish bodies had been brought about. Regional, sectional, ideological differences, hitherto sharp, were suppressed, if not altogether discarded; and a Central Council, which was to become the *Reichsvertretung der Deutschen Juden*—the title was changed by Government later to *Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland*, because in Germany there could not be German Jews—was in process of construction. A small group of national-German Jews—"Verhinderte Nazis"—were in opposition, but of little account. The spiritual head of the Union was Rabbi Baeck, who was to remain in that post till the end. He had formulated the Jewish ideal in learned books, and he exemplified that ideal in his conduct. He foresaw that the revolution in Germany must grow in strength and would have a Bolshevik tendency; for the Jewish bodies outside and inside Germany emigration should be the principal constructive activity.

The two active heads of the work were Dr. Carl Melchior, the German Financial expert at the Hague Conference in 1929, and Dr. Ludwig Tietz, who was the Führer of the Jewish Youth Movement. Both were to die within a few months, worn out by their labours beyond human strength. Melchior was concerned particularly with economic adjustment, and had hopes that some plan of liquidation of Jewish property could be carried through with the help of the World Economic Conference which was about to meet in London.

The collapse of that conference, a supreme disaster to the world at large, prevented any action, and was one of the aggravating factors in the Nazi drive. Tietz was

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a born leader of youth, and he commanded the devoted affection of all who worked with him. Foreseeing what was coming he had united by his personality the many emulating groups who, in the pre-Nazi regime, were working amongst the young. Two other leaders were Dr. Otto Hirsch, of Stuttgart, a former high Civil Servant, and Dr. Heinrich Scheffer, who also had been a civil servant—in the Treasury—when Brüning was Chancellor. Dr. Hirsch was to become the chairman of the Executive of the Reichsvertretung, and to give an example of public duty, uninterrupted, except by periods of imprisonment, for seven years in circumstances of ever-increasing adversity. Then and later in Berlin I found a welcome in the house of Wilfrid Israel. Having double nationality, English and German, he was the natural link of German with English Jewry; and he had an idealism and a conviction of the triumph of good causes which was proof against Nazi brutality—and the massed despair around him.

Whenever I visited Germany, I was impressed by the solidarity which oppression brought to the community, by the quality of its leaders, and the thoroughness of its organization. It gained strength through suffering.

Of the Jewish population of 550,000 which comprised 270,000 earners, roughly 100,000 were engaged in commercial work, 100,000 were office employees, 40,000 industrial workers, and 25,000 were in the liberal professions. Half of the fugitives were in the commercial and professional groups. It was necessary to normalize the population remaining in Germany, and to retrain a part of those in the other categories for productive occupations which would be useful abroad. About 1,000 young persons a month were emigrating to Palestine; and that rate was to be maintained for years.

What had been attempted before 1933, the economic transformation of Jewry, and had not been achieved, because it was done for others, became by a mixture of necessity and idealism a large and ordered movement.

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In its preparation of the young for a new life, and the reorganization of its economic structure, in its provision of relief and in its measures of constructive social aid, German Jewry deserved well of itself and of the larger community.

At Frankfort I had interviews with the political and commercial editors of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. That paper retained its liberal outlook, and had not yet been required to dismiss the Jewish element on its staff; it could not discuss anti-Semitic policy in principle, but only certain aspects of it. Jews perforce were passive, and could not take any part in German politics. They were forced back to the insecurity of the Ghetto, a Ghetto without a gate. The only section which had a positive policy were the Zionists whose ideals were spreading like wildfire amongst the youth: and the Nazis, at that period of moderated oppression, were prepared to accept, and in a measure to facilitate, their aspirations.

During that summer we began the interminable series of conferences which international effort involves, too often as a substitute for action. It was agreed with the French, Dutch, and American representative bodies, that the aim at the Assembly should be to secure the help of the League for a planned settlement of the refugees from Germany and a planned emigration of those who must leave. The first steps to that end were taken when the annual Conference of the International Labour Organization at Geneva adopted a resolution calling upon the Governments to co-operate in providing a home and employment for those driven from Germany. I went out with Leonard Montefiore for the Jewish bodies to the Assembly in September, and was associated with James G. Macdonald, then Director of the Foreign Policy Association of the United States, who was also the trusted man of the Jewish bodies; and with the late Dr. Motzkin, the head of the Jewish Minorities Bureau. The Jewish question took a principal place in the discussions, the Disarmament Conference, which was

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proceeding intermittently, being outside the scope of the Assembly.

Three aspects of the problem were on the agenda ; the rightlessness of the Jews and the restoration of their civil rights ; organized international effort on behalf of the refugees ; and the facilitation of emigration to Palestine. The Sixth Committee, which dealt with minority rights and with Mandates, was the centre of interest. The German delegation, according to precedent, introduced the subject of minorities. Dr. Goebbels was the first delegate of the Reich ; and created some sensation by marching in and out of the Assembly Hall accompanied by a bodyguard of "toughs". He did not, however, find the atmosphere conducive to his oratory, and did not rise at all to speak, either before the Plenary body or before the Commission. His only address was to a Press Conference, to whom he told the hackneyed story about Germany's oppression by Jews. The task at the Commission was borne by the second delegate, who urged that a nation must be homogeneous racially. He brushed aside the Jewish question by saying that it was not at all concerned with minorities, but was a problem unique in its character ; and members of the League had no justification in interfering with Germany's measures. The Powers had not yet any exaggerated deference to German protests ; and Senator Berenger, of France ; Mr. Sandler, Foreign Minister of Sweden ; and Mr. Ormsby-Gore (now Lord Harlech), the English member, roundly castigated the Nazi policy. In the Commission, where the seats of the delegates are placed in alphabetical order of their countries, according to their French names, and Allemagne and Australie were side by side, Goebbels had as his neighbour the gentle Rabbi Freedman, of Perth, who was a delegate of Australia. German manners were not yet so brutal ; and the two talked politely to each other.

Another effort before the same Committee to vindicate the rights of the Jews was made by the Black Republic

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of Haiti. Their delegation submitted a draft of an International Convention embodying the rights of man and equality of citizenship, which should be assured by international sanctions. The Greek diplomat who proposed it, attached for this purpose to the delegation, lavished his eloquence before an audience that thought it too unreal even for the Utopian League. The subsequent history of minorities has suggested that the proposal must be realized if human rights are to be restored in half of Europe.

The more practical action was moved by the Dutch delegation which called for international collaboration to deal with the economic, financial, and social problems caused by the presence of German refugees in the adjoining states of Europe. It was my function to "lobby" on behalf of this proposal, and to secure for it the support of the delegations. I learnt the art of waylaying in the glasshouse of the *Salle des Pas Perdus*. Sir John Simon, the first British delegate, assured us of unqualified British support; the French, with Senator Béranger at the head, were equally steadfast; the Scandinavian countries, who have a "Nansen Oblige" tradition at Geneva of leading humanitarian efforts, and the League veterans, Benes, of Czechoslovakia, and Hymans, of Belgium, were roped in. The League should appoint a High Commissioner with a governing body, responsible to the Council, to deal with this aspect of the problem of refugees.

The League machine worked quickly, as it can in social matters. One snag appeared when the German delegate objected to responsibility to the Council, and to any financial liability of the League. A way round the fatal right of the single veto was found by agreement that the League should appoint the High Commissioner and the governing body, but the office should be autonomous, should not be situated at Geneva, and should not render an account to the Council. The proposal through, we looked about for the holder of the

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office. The first thought was of Lord Cecil whose only office in the League was as a member of the anti-Slavery Bureau. Dr. Weizmann and I went to see him ; but before the day we had word that the Americans were working for the appointment of James Macdonald ; and the League Secretariat, anxious to enlist American co-operation for any League activity, and believing that an American High Commissioner would command American money for the practical work, jumped with unusual alacrity at the proposal. Before there could be further reflection, the President of the Council nominated Macdonald. Our request to Lord Cecil had to be changed : that he should consent to be the President of the Governing Body of the High Commission, which was to be composed of the representatives of half a score of countries. He filled the office with distinction and with firmness so long as Macdonald was High Commissioner. At the public sittings of the Governing Body he gave voice two or three times a year to the conscience of humanity about the refugees, and about the treatment of Jews and "non-Aryans". He was fond of repeating that there were still great physical and great intellectual offices to fill. But he could not move the British or any other Government to give facilities for filling them. His crushing courtesy to his less satisfactory colleagues was as delightful as his humane eloquence.

Macdonald travelled from America to assume his office without delay ; Germany in the meantime having left the League, partly as a protest against the "school-mastering" at the Assembly. He urged me to assist him ; and the request was pressed by the Jewish bodies. Jewish internal politics were baffling to an untutored Gentile. The University gave me absence for the term, and I embarked on a new activity of travelling for refugees.

My two years' association with Macdonald was altogether happy, although the office of the High Commission sadly belied the hopes, exaggerated hopes, which

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were entertained about it by a part of the general public. For the second time I worked with a High Commissioner who was expected to be Messiah. Macdonald was physically impressive ; tall, fair, sparse, blue-eyed, of that Nordic type belauded by the Nazis. He was single-minded in his work, direct in his approach to a problem, with a ready gift of speech, and at the same time prepared to talk in undiplomatic language. He was little versed in diplomacy ; and his connection with the Chanceries of Europe, with which we had to deal, had been in an easier capacity, as the director of a popular organization for international understanding. It was a different matter to wrest from them helpful action for refugees, aliens without rights, who are at all times a nuisance in the departments, and were particularly so at a time of economic depression and in "pandemic conditions of national exclusiveness". He continually crossed the Atlantic, to deal first with the American bodies and then with the organizations and Governments in Europe.

I was equally vagabond, but in a more restricted area of Europe. One of our colleagues at Geneva, though only for a short time, was Dr. James Parkes, at that time engaged in the International Students' Movement, and later to be the untiring historian of the relations of synagogue and church. He was a Peter Pan among scholars and a Puck in any administration. The first meeting, to fix the Constitution of the Governing Body, took place at Lausanne in December, 1933. Excluded from Geneva by the Secretary-General of the League, who made this concession to the German wishes, we desired to be as near Geneva as possible so as to have contact with the League office and the representatives of the Powers.

Lausanne had its character no less than Geneva, a combination of puritan severity with a romantic appeal to voluntary refugees. It had been a favourite retreat of English writers, since Voltaire remarked on "that strange country where they speak French and think

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English". Gibbon wrote there his *Decline and Fall*; Dickens his *Dombey and Son*; and Zangwill his *Dreamers of the Ghetto*, three books apposite to our enterprise.

Our office was in the somewhat incongruous habitation of the Lausanne Palace Hotel, one of those huge caravanserais built in the days when Switzerland was both the favourite tourist centre and the favourite centre of international conferences. The sittings of the Governing Body took place in the Palais de Rumine—the gift of a Russian refugee—which was the ceremonial building of the University, and had been chosen for the signing of the Treaty of Peace with Turkey in 1923. The meeting, like many of its kind, was the occasion for the expression of fine sentiments in public sessions, and for cautious recommendations to Governments in private session. The Governing Body was composed mainly of nondescript diplomatists who knew little, cared little, and wanted to do as little as possible about the cause. The one memorable address was given by Dr. Weizmann, who on behalf of the Jewish Agency submitted a moving account of the position of the Jewish people in Germany and in Central Europe.

The two first objects of the Commission were (1) to obtain from the dozen Governments represented on it an agreement about a minimum civil status to be enjoyed by refugees, and a passport with which they could move from country to country; and (2) to co-ordinate and stimulate the activities of the national, denominational, and international organizations concerned with the help of the refugees. It was thought that recommendations of the Governing Body to the States would be adequate to secure the first purpose without adding to the many international conventions; but that expectation was belied. And in the end the League organ was called upon to formulate a convention dealing with the rights of German refugees. That happened only after Macdonald had ceased to be High Commissioner, and when the League was becoming a factory of paper-munitions.

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For the second object Macdonald established an Advisory Council composed of representatives of thirty organizations, European and American, Jewish and Christian, undenominational and international, which met under his chairmanship once a quarter to consider the common problem. The Jewish bodies were the most active part, and provided most of the Budget of the High Commissioner's office, in which the League, because of the German veto, had disinterested itself. I had a hope that, out of the quarterly meetings of representatives of the bodies concerned with German Jewry, it would be possible to form a standing Executive to deal constructively with the larger Jewish problem of Europe. That problem was not to be solved either by passing on the other side of the road or by revolutionary activities of a popular Assembly. But it proved impossible to bring about agreement on a larger programme. For the help of German Jewry a measure of common working was obtained, although all the co-ordination did not help to produce practical plans of settlement of refugee groups anywhere except in Palestine. We received schemes for every known and unknown corner of the world: Angola and New Mexico, South-West Africa and North China, Socotra and Alaska, Ecuador and Northern Australia. The more remote and emptier the region, the more brilliant and the more detailed were the plans. It proved an ineradicable fallacy that the greatest number of persons could be put into the empty places. A knowledge of colonization was much rarer than of geography.

The Palestine enthusiasm produced shekels. For more modest group settlement elsewhere the requisite funds were almost always unobtainable. An American project of a Refugee Economic Corporation, to promote settlement, was launched in 1934, and dwindled in its ambitions. After fixing fifty million dollars as its aim, and after nearly two years of travail, the company started with a capital of 1½ million dollars, and without a programme. De

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Madariaga has brilliantly marshalled evidence that Christopher Columbus was a refugee Jew from Spain seeking a home for refugees in the Indies, as a step towards the recovery of the Holy Land. The expulsion from Germany did not throw up a Columbus, and there was no second America to discover.

Another object, which was attended with more success, was the training for simple productive occupations of young persons who had hitherto been engaged in commerce or offices, or were in technical schools and places of higher learning. That action proceeded in Germany itself, in European states to which the refugees fled, and in Palestine ; and it achieved remarkable results.

My activity during the first year was devoted in large measure to making and keeping contact with the Government departments and with the refugee organizations in the different countries. The largest number of the refugees turned in the first place to France, and Paris was their principal centre. It was estimated at the beginning of 1934 that 30,000 were in the country, 20,000 in the capital. The Refugee Committee disposed in a few months of the 10,000,000 francs which were collected, and then had 5,000 destitute men, women, and children on its hands. The French Government which, with occasional lapses of hardness, was generally more liberal than others to those seeking asylum, placed at the disposal of the refugees disused barracks on the outskirts of Paris. I was to find dealings with the French Civil Service involved and embarrassing. The departmentalism of the Ronds de Cuir was more baffling than the departmentalism of Whitehall ; and the constant changing of the personnel at the Quai d'Orsay was another difficulty. Each month we were apt to find another official with whom to start from scratch. I would go to see Senator Bérenger at the Luxembourg Palace of the Senate, and obtain his blessing ; but it was a different matter to get anything done in the Bureaux in days of unrest and constant change of cabinets. I was

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in Paris that night of 6th February, 1934, when the crowds battered at the Chamber of Deputies; and I saw the police charging down the Boulevard St. Germain. The spectator can seldom realize a historical moment; but good judges have reckoned that night the precursor of the fall of the Republic. What was clear to me was the extraordinary passion of French politics, sometimes on the side of reaction, sometimes on the side of freedom.

The Stavisky scandal, which was then shocking French politics, and the assassination a little later of M. Barthou by a political refugee, combined with the economic depression which reached France at this time, made it impossible to obtain favourable conditions and sympathy for our charges. We were told that France must be treated as a place of "triage", not as a "garage"; and the principal effort was to get the refugees out of the country which had led in the opening of asylum. French Jews, too, did not respond with alacrity to the call. If there was then little anti-Semitism in France, there was little pro-Semitism amongst her Jews. And their representatives wearisomely spoke, in the name of La France, on behalf of restriction.

The Government of the Netherlands set an example in granting facilities for agricultural training. It put at the disposal of the Refugee Committee some hundreds of hectares in the reclaimed land of the Zuider Zee. A training village, known appropriately as Werkdorp, was established in 1934, and grew from a few hutments to a village community with 300 students. The Dutch-Jewish community also, and a small body of Quakers in that country, were untiring in their efforts for the maintenance of the large number of refugees, both Jewish and non-Jewish, in the little land of freedom. The Quakers were everywhere outstanding amongst the Christian bodies in their philanthropic effort, doing the right thing before Governments were sure it was the wrong thing. With their centres in Germany and Austria

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as well as in the Western countries ; and with their hallmark as a community free from political aims, and bent on the broadest philanthropy, they gave help to thousands of stricken families and individuals. In this year their chief effort for the refugees was in Paris, where a body which had been brought into being to foster good relations between French and Germans was diverted to the help of victims of German racial and political malice. I spent hours in their office in the Rue Guy de la Brosse where French, Swiss, English, and American friends gathered ; and I would cross the road to the apartment of Professor Sylvain Lévi, the doyen of Jewish scholars in France, and the heart and soul of a Committee of savants which helped German academic exiles.

One encouraging aspect of the work was that for the academic exiles. University professors gave an outstanding example of solidarity, and enabled nearly all of those—close on 1,000—who had been deprived of their academic positions and had to leave the Vaterland, to be saved for scholarship and science. British universities set the example and made room for over 250. Walter Adams, the Secretary of the Academic Assistance Council and a university lecturer himself, never ceased to assert the principles that the refugees were not a liability to countries admitting them, but an opportunity, and that academic freedom itself was at stake. And the universities listened.

Another happily inspired effort of the same kind was made by the International Students' Service, for the students whose careers in the university and technical schools had been interrupted. They again gave an example of solidarity ; and a large part of their fund came from British and American students. A third form of the effort for intellectual refugees was an international organization, with its centre at Geneva, organized by the dynamic Marie Ginsberg, one of the librarians of the League of Nations.

Besides the bigger countries of refuge I visited the

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fortress city of Luxembourg. There the local community of 2,500 Jews contrived to place hundreds of young men and women for training with the Luxembourg farmers : they maintained also a training centre at Altwies, on the French border, in a hotel which had been the home of the exiled Victor Hugo, and was now turned into a hostel for young pioneers preparing for Palestine. The pioneer spirit was infused by two enthusiasts from the National Home, who trained the pupils in the fields by day, and "Hebraised" them with talks on Jewish history and literature by night.

The little community of Luxembourg had played a notable part in the Reform Movement of Judaism ; but the Rabbi of the congregation at the time of my visit called into question the basis of that reform. He had written a book called *The Jewish Way*, which was a penetrating study of the collapse of the Liberal Movement. The assimilation of the Jew, which followed his political emancipation in the latter part of the nineteenth century, had not given him any fresh root. It was like a gourd which disappeared overnight. The Liberal movement reduced Judaism from a system of life to a creed, which was not a true Jewish conception. The Jew must now reorientate himself ; and that meant to go back to his origin, take his bearings afresh, and get on to a true course.

When I visited Luxembourg again at Easter, 1936, the community, which in the meantime had grown by the reception of some hundreds of the congregation driven from the Saar Region, were in baffled amazement over our acquiescence at the German militarization of the Rhine Province. They could not make out what we were doing : it seemed to them, with some prevision, surrender to Nazi plans to dominate Europe, and a prelude to disaster.

Another centre of the work in that first year was the Saar region, which was then an international "liberty". The Plebiscite of the inhabitants, to determine their

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future political destiny, was to take place in a year's time ; in the interval it was governed by an International Commission with an Englishman, Sir Geoffrey Knox, at its head. Its site on the borders of France and Germany made it a chosen Alsatia for thousands of fugitives from the Reich, particularly amongst the Social Democrats.

A prosperous Jewish community of 5,000 played an important part in the commercial life ; they were anxious for their future, and within two years they had completely disappeared. Saarbrücken was riotously decorated with Nazi flags ; for while the International Commission forbade the wearing of Nazi emblems by the inhabitants because it led to brawls, they did not forbid the hanging of flags. The Nazis were prodigal in their efforts to persuade and constrain the population to vote, when the time came, for reunion. The Social Democrats, on their side, and the Communists were active. And newspapers multiplied.

I had a curious experience of the battle of propaganda. My wife, who accompanied me, smoked her cigarette in the street (as usual) while I was in a Government office. She was accosted by Nazi gallants, who shouted at her in German, "German women don't smoke." She told them she was English. They shouted again, and went off. She mentioned the incident later when we were lunching with an English journalist friend. Three days later at Lausanne I was rung up by the editor of a London daily, and asked to give a true account of the outrage which my wife had suffered in Saarbrücken. I assured him that there had been no outrage, and told him the bare facts. In the following days telegrams came from different parts of the world asking about my wife. Papers of the Continent and of Palestine contained a story, which grew in luridness, of violence and assault, of my wife being flung down, of her teeth being knocked out with the cigarette. During the next month, seeing Knox in Geneva, I expressed the hope that he had not been bothered by this story. "Why," he said, "the story has

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been laid before the Council of the League by the Socialist Front in a memorandum which is to be considered to-day." A distorted account was included in the memorandum. I wrote to the Secretariat to correct it, but nevertheless it is enshrined in the official journal of the League.

In May, 1934, Macdonald and I made a tour of the countries of Central and Northern Europe. Our first stopping-place was Vienna, which was barely recovering from the destruction of the Socialist Party by Dollfuss. We saw the workmen's dwellings riddled with bullets, and we had from Mr. John Gunter, then a Correspondent in Vienna, a moving story of what had happened in those days. We had an interview in the historic rooms of the Ball-platz with the rather fussy bureaucracy, each man addressed with a mouth-filling title, about the treatment of 5,000 refugees who were in the country. The Government at the time was sympathetic, but timid of allowing the political fugitives to stay.

At our next destination, Prague, we saw Benes in the magnificent Castle Hlradec, and had from him effective help. There was no uncertainty as to the goodwill of Czechs of all denominations toward the victims of Nazi tyranny; and the Government had placed at the disposal of the Committees several estates where the fugitives were engaged in subsistence production. We were entertained by the then Permanent Secretary at the Foreign Office, M. Hodza, who was to be the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia in the days of strain five years later. At that time the Government was cool and firm, and the Jewish community, too, seemed free of apprehension. A Jewish woman, who was also a Social-Democratic fighter, Madam Schmolka, was accepted unanimously by all the bodies as the Secretary of the National Committee. She stayed at that post, working untiringly, till she was thrown into prison by the Nazis in March, 1939. She was released after two months' effort; but died broken-hearted in London in the early months of the war.

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From Prague we flew to Warsaw and had an extravagant reception. Polish Jewry in its tragic plight was constantly looking for the saviour ; and any person who came on a mission of hope was greeted as if he were a Messiah. Messianism is—or was—the national philosophy of Poland. We had a round of meetings with the heads of the community, and they were many ; and had to listen to hours of ecstatic and tragically unreal speeches. The British Government was then admitting Jews to Palestine at the rate of 40,000 a year, but orators attacked England bitterly for shutting the doors and not admitting 100,000 ; and I had to do my futile best to defend her. Our visit synchronized with the presence of Vladimir Jabotinsky, who was engaged in one of his wordy campaigns against our Government and had been hailed as a saviour a few days before by a section. He was in his deliberately seductive mood when we met ; and at first wished to take part in the meetings. Macdonald let him know that he should be a silent assistant, and he desisted, explaining : “ Our people are not always quite careful as to matters of diplomacy, and my *silent presence* might be interpreted as animosity. . . . ”

We saw between meetings something of the conditions of Polish Jewry in Warsaw and the neighbouring towns. Neither of us had seen such material misery and poverty. Of the three million Jews in Poland one million lived in indescribable wretchedness, and another million below a human standard. We thought to go incognito through the Nalewka quarter (the Ghetto now destroyed by German bombs), but were discovered, and then it was one continual mobbing. Material life was there reduced to its lowest terms. In the small towns the poverty and destitution were not so crushing ; but you could almost feel the insecurity of the Jewish populace in the market-place, where the Jews were sellers, largely on credit, and the peasants the debtors. We saw other more hopeful aspects of the life, the enterprise of the American Joint Distribution Committee and of Polish

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associations to train the young for productive work, to bring up the children in a modern way, to assist industrial enterprise for Jewish workers, and to improve health conditions. But the dominant impression was of an immense and urgent problem with which we were not adequately coping. The Polish Government would not give work to the Jews in public enterprises. While the population was nearly 10 per cent of the whole and one-third of the urban element, less than 1 per cent were in any form of Government service. Jews, on the other hand, against their will, were 60 per cent of the traders in the country, most of them the poorest of pedlars. They were the victims of the reformation of the old economic order by state action, and debarred by state action from participation in the new order. A rabbinical saying described their position : " The pot falls on the stone ; woe to the pot ; the stone falls on the pot, woe to the pot." The Jews and the non-Jews in the free English-speaking countries were equally neglectful of a misery which cried out to Heaven for a large international effort of reconstruction.

It seemed miraculous that young men coming from these conditions could within a few years be turned in Palestine to sturdy, upright pioneers. Without the hope of immigration to the National Home that teeming population must have been demoralized. We had an example of the gleam from Palestine in the darkness when, in one of the wretched villages, they showed us pictures of the Palestine leaders and pictures of Tel Aviv, the work of the children in the school.

From Warsaw to Berlin, where Macdonald expected to see Baron Neurath, the Foreign Minister, whom he had met at Basle, privately, after the meeting of the Governing Body. Neurath sent word that to his regret he was too busy, and the Permanent Secretary at the Foreign Office regretted also that he was too busy to receive the High Commissioner. It was suggested that he could discuss our concerns with the Assistant Legal

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Adviser at the Foreign Office. The counter to that was that I should see the Assistant Adviser, Herr von Barandon. He received me courteously enough and sympathetically, and was apparently anxious to help in the specific matters which we submitted. I entered into a long correspondence, but the upshot was that something was conceded about passports for Jews leaving Germany, and very little was conceded about transfer of property.

From Berlin to Copenhagen, which was another centre of activity in all sections of the population, Socialist, Jewish, Christian, academic, Trade Union, on behalf of different groups of refugees. Several thousands had been received and a number were able to work. The Jewish activities were directed by the "Mosaic Community", as they called themselves, of which the head was one Henriques, a descendant of the old Spanish-Jewish aristocracy. I made the acquaintance, too, of the Melchior family who had a tradition of leadership in the community. The young members were devoted to the agricultural apprenticeship of the refugees with Danish farmers. The promoter of that movement was a Palestine Jew, Benjamin Slor, son of a colonist of Petah Tikvah, who had come to Denmark before the World War to equip himself as a physical instructor for Palestine. Having married a Danish wife, he remained to be a champion of Zionist ideals in the community. The German crisis aroused the declining Jewish spirit in Denmark, and aroused also practical and sympathetic help of a liberty-loving people, who had the highest intelligence standard of farmers anywhere in the world. I visited Denmark again that summer; and spent some weeks seeing the retraining movement and the Folk High Schools, which give to the young farming community and to the industrial workers a training in the humanities such as no other people can boast.

Chalutzim were placed upon farms in all parts, often two or three together, and enjoyed facilities for meeting for Hebrew lessons and talks on Palestine from an

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itinerant Palestinian teacher. Most of the farmers had been to high schools, and imbibed there that sense of mutual helpfulness which has made the success of co-operative farming and democracy in Denmark. The example of the Danish people pointed the lesson that the trend of Jews to productive work should not be limited to those driven by a stimulus of necessity, but pursued equally amongst those living in free countries who could voluntarily choose their way of life. What the youth of Palestine were doing from idealistic conviction, and the Jews of Germany from a combination of that same enthusiasm and of stern need, young Jews of England, France, and America should do from an eager acceptance of the simple life. The Jew will retain his intellectual eagerness wherever and whatever he may be ; and it would be a loss if he should try to suppress it. But intellectual eagerness is not excluded in those following a productive manual life, and is not a prerogative of the liberal professions.

One other event of that first visit to Denmark remains in my memory ; a dinner given by Professor Nils Bohr, the Nobel Prizeman and Physicist, at his home in the midst of the Carlsberg Brewery. The house, decorated by Thorwaldsen, was bequeathed by Carlsberg to the Government for the residence of the most distinguished Dane, while the profits of the brewery were devoted to assist art and science. Nils Bohr was a " non-Aryan " ; and he and his brother, also a distinguished scientist, were active in the cause of the academic exiles. Amongst his guests was Professor Franck, another Nobel prize winner and a hero of the War, who had given up his Chair at Gottingen because he was not prepared to be the sole Jew exempted from the Nazi ban. We hoped that he might be attached to the University at Jerusalem ; but he was opposed alike to Jewish and to German nationalism, and that was not to be. Macdonald and I were brought away by the woman head of a Legation, the American Mrs. Bryan-Owen, who was the daughter

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of the Democrat-orator, William Bryan. When we passed out of the portals of the brewery, a guard looked into the car to make sure we were not taking out any beer and defrauding the Excise. Diplomatic immunity did not extend to any vehicle leaving the residence.

That August I lectured again at the Hague Academy of International Law. The contrast was marked with the conditions of 1929. Then Germany was suppliant, now she was arrogant. But she had not yet stepped out of the cultural Comity of Nations, and a number of the students were German. One of my colleagues, an "Aryan" German professor, declared his admiration for the development of Hebrew in Palestine. I had another German encounter there when we were dining with Dr. Melchior. A friend was suddenly announced ; an intimate of Schleicher who had just been murdered in Hitler's blood-bath. He had barely escaped to England from the S.S. men seeking him, and menaced there by Nazi agents, had fled again to Holland ; but he was fondly convinced that the gang would not last another year ! Most of us were living in a world of wishful make-belief, averting our minds from the relentless march of destruction. That summer had seen the murder of Dollfuss as well as of the Nazi rivals of Hitler.

At the Assembly of the League in September, 1934, we rendered an account of the work of the High Commissioner ; but the effort to bring the fuller authority of the League to support us was not successful. Benes presciently remarked to Macdonald that, while in its early years the League sought to create a new world, it was now struggling hard to save the old ; and De Madariaga, the scintillating wit of the Geneva Assemblies, observed that the League had too much church for its faith.

The advantage of the neighbourhood of Geneva no longer counterbalanced the loss by its remoteness from the centre of the active work for the refugees. We moved to London, to a doss-house of offices in Bloomsbury—Sentinel House, in order to be in closer touch with the

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principal English bodies which took the lead. During the winter 1934-5 I was in Palestine, then a land of buoyancy and fulfilment. From there I went on two short errands looking for openings, if only for a few of our charges, to Beirut and to Cyprus. In both places the Government was tepidly sympathetic. In Syria it would favour Jewish settlement in the Sanjak of Alexandretta, the northern area, where vast capital was wanted for reclamation of the marshland between Antioch and the sea. Fortunately, perhaps, the scheme could not be realized, because that area was transferred absolutely in 1939 to Turkish sovereignty. In Cyprus individuals had plans for placing refugee groups on land that had been acquired years before by the Jewish Colonization Association, and unsuccessfully settled by them. Superficially the project was attractive, and that lovely and tranquil island constantly lured the bodies in Germany. But the hard facts of financial cost, and a certain unwillingness of the Palestinian-Jewish bodies to encourage what might be a competing agricultural enterprise, baffled the efforts. All that was accomplished was the engagement of a few young Germans in private plantations around the romantic Famagusta and the less romantic Larnaca; the engagement of a few Jewish doctors and engineers in Nicosia, that jewel of a backwater seat of Government, and the employment of a few skilled craftsmen amongst the refugees in an artificial-teeth factory which had been established by a successful enterprise of Tel Aviv.

While Macdonald was in South America exploring projects of settlement, I visited, in the spring of 1935, the United States in order to address meetings on behalf of the refugee organizations, Jewish and Christian. My wife and I went out by the Dutch s.s. *Statendam* (destroyed in Rotterdam in 1940). Most of the passengers had been on a Mediterranean Near-Eastern tour, including some days in Palestine, and we were entertained by their amazing comments, which are peculiar to personally conducted parties.

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The desire of each member of the party is to have a "unique personal contact", something different from the standardized pleasure of the mass. One woman had spoken to Mussolini in Italy, and realized what a noble man he was when he said to her : "I hope to come to America one day." Another volunteered information about the constitution of Palestine. Every Englishman in the Administration must be a Christian, and pledge himself to be a defender of the faith. The conditions of the Mandate had been determined by the Conqueror in Jerusalem at a meeting between Lord Curzon and Rabbi Stephen Wise and the Rabbi of the speaker's town, Los Angeles, who had conveyed the will of America. The rights of the Jews had in that way been assured, and England prevented from going back on her war promises.

We stayed in New York for six busy weeks in the house of Felix Warburg, who was the President of the American Joint Distribution Committee, and the one firm link between Zionists and non-Zionists. American Jewish society is more riven and more sectional than English Jewry. For all the talk of the "melting pot", the feeling between Eastern and Western Jews, i.e. those born east or west of the Vistula, is still strong. The sheer gap also in social relations between Jewish and non-Jewish society was the more glaring because in the political, the professional, the intellectual and artistic life the Jews have their full share and a little more.

Life in the home of a millionaire was a new experience ; what stood out was the devotion of our host and hostess from morning to night to every kind of good cause. Felix Warburg would sit up each night when we were with him until the small hours of the morning, very often after some function, reading the memoranda which came from his correspondents in every centre of Jewish distress or Jewish activity. Characteristically the word most frequent on his lips and in his letters was "lovely". Everywhere he looked for what was good and hopeful.

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He was apt, maybe, to find it too trustingly, but in every activity he was concerned to conciliate, and by force of his kindness and manifest devotion did conciliate.

The experience of an American campaign was stimulating. When I got into the swing, I had an average of two meetings a day; and as each meeting is preceded by the ceremonial meal where the "guest-speaker"—ominous name—is expected to talk sensibly with host or hostess, to shake hands afterwards, and find something to say to a large number of guests—talking at the meeting is the smaller part of the effort. I sympathized with the lecturer who asked a fee of \$200 for a lecture, and \$500 for a luncheon and lecture. I addressed many gatherings in New York and its multiple suburbs, and spoke at Baltimore, Washington, Boston, the New England towns, and a dozen places in the Middle West, Chicago, Buffalo, and Montreal. We crossed the International Bridge between Niagara and Buffalo and had the thrill of a free international frontier. Generally the discrepancy between efforts and result was remarkable, particularly with the appeal to the non-Jewish bodies. I addressed groups of Christian workers, nation-wide councils, branches of the Quakers, and groups of the clergy of different denominations. The publicity, the preparation and following-up of the meetings appeared to be extraordinarily thorough, but the outcome was extraordinarily meagre. Appeals in America for a human cause are treated as "drives" calling for competitive salesmanship. The public is baffled by the variety of campaigns presented with the ingenious devices of advertising and the methods of big business.

Another task was to deal with the "Foundations", which dispensed endowments of the multi-millionaires, in order to obtain help from them for the academic and intellectual exiles. I had the opportunity of speaking with one of the men who created them, Edward Harkness. With him I found a ready sympathy for the cause of the refugee professors and students; and a particular interest

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in the work that was being done at the Hebrew University to build a haven for the exiled Jewish minds. But when I passed from him to the executive of the Commonwealth Foundation, I struck expert sales-resistance. It was much the same when I talked with the Executive Director of the Rockefeller Foundation. The "big executives" have to cultivate impersonality, and they have achieved it with a disarming thoroughness. It would be ungracious, however, to cavil, because both these foundations and some others made a significant contribution to the international effort for the dispossessed scholars.

The more human approach I found in Professor Alvin Johnson, the head of the New School for Social Research. He had inspired what was called the University in Exile, which was in fact a department of his school, manned entirely by exiled scholars from Germany, Central Europe, Italy, etc., and attended by post-graduate students. The purpose was to provide in America that opportunity for higher study and research in social sciences, for which hitherto American students had turned to in European universities and academies. Everything about him had a distinctive note. His room was approached by a passage which led away, as it were, to the end of things. The room itself was in the Byzantine style, and in an alcove leading out of the oblong room was the gem of a Greek statue. He explained the aim of the school, to meet the changing demand of the intellectual world in the social sciences. When in the era of great prosperity economics were despised, the people wanted studies for intellectual recreation, modern art, modern music: when the boom period ended in a crashing collapse, the demand was for psychology, to know how and why they were deceived, and the fashion grew for psychoanalysis. At the next turn students wanted relief from the sordid world of affairs, and music and art were again popular, and interest was revived in economics.

The University in Exile aimed at preserving the creative activity of the German and other foreign groups,

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so that they might not be just a number of isolated units in a strange environment. The adoption of the principle was opposed because of the fear that it would arouse anti-semitism ; but Johnson thought that the fear was misconceived, and that the jealousy against the exiled teacher would be more certainly aroused when they were scattered over the American universities in permanent or temporary appointments.

He had an enthusiastic interest in larger social problems, particularly in restoring uprooted people to a productive life on the soil. Speculative farms which had sprung up over the United States had come to grief. A fresh attempt must be made to place men on smaller holdings which they could cultivate with their family, and to foster the co-operative working of the smallholders. He was convinced by experience of his native Denmark that co-operative farming could succeed in the New World ; and he was eager to encourage the experiment with the German refugees who had been trained for agriculture. Palestine has shown an extraordinary aptitude of the Jewish settlers for co-operative enterprise.

Everywhere I found interest in the development of Palestine, which was in contrast to the attitude of twenty-five years earlier. Tens of thousands of American Jews have kith and kin in the land, and tens of thousands have visited the country, if only for a few days, and been thrilled by the sight of an upstanding and renascent Jewish people. If American Jewry was conscious of its predominance in material power, it was conscious also that Palestine Jewry had assumed the primacy in spiritual influence. The infusion of Jewish culture and ideals from Palestine had taken the place of the spirit which came formerly from a continuous immigration derived from the regions of intense Jewish life. Since the war the immigration had been greatly curtailed, and the Jewish community was no longer growing sensationally, but mainly by natural increase. On the other hand, the Jewish conscience was strengthened, compared with

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the position a quarter of a century ago. Then the survival of Judaism in America seemed to be menaced by the disintegrating effect of "extreme" synagogue reform upon Jewish ceremonial and national aspiration, which had turned the temple into the likeness of a Unitarian Church. The establishment of the National Home was but one, though perhaps the principal factor, in the change; other factors were the rallying of the forces of Conservative Judaism, mainly through the influence of Solomon Schechter, the strengthening of Jewish solidarity by social anti-semitism in America, and the threatened destruction of Jewry in Central Europe.

The revived conscience was most marked in the Reform Temples. Hebrew was resumed in the services, though subordinate to English; and if some of the Reform Rabbis conservatively regarded Zionism as inconsistent with American loyalty, that outlook was an exception. The urge to absorption was checked. The magnificence of the synagogue and the communal centres attached to them, the hospitals and orphanages, the young men's and young women's Hebrew Associations was also a revelation to one used to the austerity of Palestine and the meagreness of Anglo-Jewish communal institutions. The magnificence had its reverse side. The upkeep of the buildings and the many institutions were clogs on the charity of the community when the depression came. The high standard of communal comfort was, in fact, a greater handicap to the generosity of American Jewry than the high standard of individual comfort of American Jews. In the crisis the standard of giving suffered before the standard of living.

Apart from the excitement of constant travelling, which on the return journey, anyhow, I did largely by air—(my sponsors were loathe to let me fly *to* the meetings in case there should be a delay)—from constant touch with new interests, from overflowing hospitality here, there, and everywhere, and from the beauty of the new scenes, a few personal encounters stand out in memory.

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At Washington I met the two Jewish Justices of the Supreme Court, Louis Brandeis and the late Benjamin Cardozo. Brandeis had been in 1919 in Jerusalem, and he kept his knowledge of Palestine constantly invigorated. He told how, after being detached from Jewish causes till middle age, he had suddenly attained conviction about Zionism. When acting as arbitrator in a big strike of the tailors, who were largely Jews, he came to know some ardent spirits amongst the working men ; and as Daniel Deronda in George Eliot's story was called back to the Jewish cause by the workman Mordecai, so his Jewish conscience was aroused by these workers. The Labour organization was the virile element in our populace. One of the reasons for the striking progress in Palestine was that many talents were employed, and an incentive was given to the ordinary man through the co-operative and collective groups to develop his self. On the other hand, the weakness of the general society is that the few men of eminent ability are so over-worked that they have insufficient time to meditate, while a large class of smaller men, who would be capable of responsibility in a limited field and would grow with responsibility, have no chance and do not develop their powers. They are controlled by the hierarchy with a consequent loss to themselves and to public affairs. We overwork ability and underwork capacity.

Cardozo was the gentlest and most modest of men. He was absolutely devoted to the philosophy of law, convinced of the need of a progressive social outlook for the exercise of the judicial function. While we were in America, the Supreme Court was giving leading decisions about the New Deal ; and he and Brandeis, usually in the minority, were championing the progressive interpretation of the law. He was a Governor of our University of Jerusalem ; and though he had not seen Palestine, had the faith that Jerusalem would be the nursery of the Jewish genius. Intellectual and academic interest was not enough to-day ; the crisis in Germany had given

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to the development in Palestine an urgent practical interest.

At Cleveland I lunched with Newton Baker, formerly the Secretary of President Wilson, who, too, was interested in Palestine. He had seen it only for a day or two on a cruise, but he had just been reading Sheehan's book, *Personal History*, and thought that the Jews, like the Hebrews of old, were anxious to exterminate the Arabs. It was hard to convince him to the contrary. The influence of a journalist best-seller in America may be portentous.

I saw several of the American universities. Professor Manley Hudson, now Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice, showed me the Harvard Law School, and its library, which is so huge and complete as to take away all sense of adventure ; Professor Goodenough, the interpreter of Philo of Alexandria, showed me over Yale, and was bursting with pride over the discoveries of a rich Jewish pictorial art in the early centuries that were revealed in the synagogue of Dura Europos on the Euphrates ; and Professor Quincy Wright showed me the Archæological Museum of the University of Chicago, which the munificence of Rockefeller, directed by the skill and the ardour of Breasted, had within a generation rendered equal to the national collections of the British Museum and the Louvre.

I had to return for family reasons from America before the due date, and missed an intended meeting with Macdonald who was returning from South America. The failure to achieve any positive results in Brazil had fortified him in his intention to give up office at the end of the year, because he felt that he could not do what was needed in the present conditions. When we were together again in London, we had to prepare a case for the Assembly of the League to establish a single organ for all refugees under its protection, and a letter of resignation which Macdonald was contemplating to send to the League. At the same time we were preparing,

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(with the help of two American experts), material for a presentation of the essential facts of German treatment of Jews and non-Aryans.

The three weeks of the Assembly at Geneva were regularly a period of intensive lobbying. All winds blew in that corridor of the Conference building now relegated to other uses. The English Delegation, led that year by Sir Samuel Hoare, who made the resounding speech about Italy's threat to Abyssinia, the speech on the policy of "splendid association", which encouraged only to deceive, was won to our cause. The Scandinavians were wholehearted for a change. The French, whose bureaucracy was weary of the refugee problem, wobbled. We had to rally them to the proposal for a League Commission which should examine the continuation of the League effort; and Herriot, the first French Delegate, was persuaded—by memories of Philo again—to give his support. In the end the Commission was appointed. Sir Horace Rumbold was the British member; and a Norwegian fighter appeared on the refugee question, Judge Hansen, who had been President of the Mixed Courts in Egypt, and had something of the Nansen quality.

The deterioration of the condition of German Jewry and the urgency of a more determined international effort to save them were manifested when, during the Assembly's sitting, the Nazi Party, at its annual gathering at Nuremberg, enacted the so-called Nuremberg Decrees (September, 1935). They deprived all "non-Aryans" of German citizenship, and initiated a fresh wave of repression and persecution of a totalitarian character, which was not envisaged in 1933. Whatever doubt existed before, it was clear that the Nazis aimed not only at the exclusion of Jews and non-Aryans from public and intellectual life, but at their economic destruction and their elimination from the German society. The purpose of Macdonald's letter of resignation was to bring the facts clearly and uncompromisingly to the notice of the world. A few extracts from the letter,

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which was not couched in the careful terminology of Geneva, will illustrate its character.

"... The intensified persecution in Germany threatens the pauperization or exile of hundreds of thousands of Germans—men, women, and children—not only Jews but also the 'non-Aryan' Christians treated as Jews, and Protestants and Catholics who, in obedience to their faith and conscience, dare to resist the absolute will of the National Socialist State. Apart from all questions of principle and of religious persecution, one portentous fact confronts the community of states. More than half a million persons, against whom no charge can be made except that they are not what the National Socialists choose to regard as 'Nordic', are being crushed.

"... It is being made increasingly difficult for Jews and 'non-Aryans' in Germany to sustain life. Condemned to segregation within the four corners of the legal and social Ghetto which has now closed upon them, they are increasingly prevented from earning their living. Indeed more than half of the Jews remaining in Germany have already been deprived of their livelihood. In many parts of the country there is a systematic attempt at starvation of the Jewish population. In no field of economic activity is there any security whatsoever. . . .

"The developments since 1933, and in particular those following the Nuremberg legislation, call for fresh collective action in regard to the problem created by persecution in Germany. The moral authority of the League of Nations and of States Members of the League must be directed towards a determined appeal to the German Government in the name of humanity and of the principles of the public law of Europe. They must ask for a modification of policies which constitute a source of unrest and perplexity in the world, a challenge to the conscience of mankind, and a menace to the legitimate interests of the States affected by the immigration of German refugees. . . .

"... The efforts of the private organizations and of

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any League organization for refugees can only mitigate a problem of growing gravity and complexity. In the present economic conditions of the world, the European States, and even those overseas, have only a limited power of absorption of refugees. The problem must be tackled at its source if disaster is to be avoided. This is the function of the League. . . ."

The letter concluded with a personal note : " . . . I am convinced that it is the duty of the High Commissioner for German Refugees, in tendering his resignation, to express an opinion on the essential elements of the task with which the Council of the League entrusted him. When domestic policies threaten the demoralization and exile of hundreds of thousands of human beings, considerations of diplomatic correctness must yield to those of common humanity. I should be recreant if I did not call attention to the actual situation, and plead that world opinion, acting through the League and its Member-States and other countries, move to avert the existing and impending tragedies."

The principle of State sovereignty, with its corollary of non-interference in the internal affairs of nations, had prevented Liberal statesmen from taking any firm stand against the barbarities in Germany. They merely protested against the consequences. Macdonald's letter was a demonstration against that attitude. Its value lay in the mobilization of shame, which was the surviving League sanction.

Macdonald sailed for America early in December. I carried on the work of the Commission together with a Dutch colleague, M. Wurfbein, until the Council of the League could consider the Letter and the Report of the Expert Commission, and give a fresh decision about the action for refugees. The letter had been printed in readiness to come before the Council at the same time as the Report. Macdonald proposed that it should be published on New Year's Day when his resignation would have effect. It seemed to us in

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London that, if we were to obtain action on the lines which were urged, it was undesirable to loose the storm of publicity before the Council met. I was to invoke the support at the Council of the representative of the Scandinavian Group, the Danish Foreign Minister, M. Munck, for initiating the appeal of the letter ; and to get the approval of the Norwegian Foreign Minister, M. Koht, who had sponsored the resolution at the Assembly. The plane for Copenhagen could not leave because of fog ; and in order to get to the northern capitals before Christmas, I went by Flushing-Hamburg and had to jettison on the sea my copies of the letter which I did not wish the German officials to examine.

The Ministers were averse to publication prior to the meeting, but the decision had been taken in the United States. The letter was "released" on the last day of the year, and did produce a world-wide sensation. The public conscience everywhere, which had been lulled by the monotony of persecution, was aroused again. At the League, indeed, as some feared, the publication was resented ; and the Council, when it did meet, took no serious consideration of the document but passed it to the Assembly—of next September—in accordance with the Geneva principle, to touch nothing which it does not adjourn. In the light of other experience it may be doubted whether the Council would have taken any more positive and courageous action if there had been no previous publication. The Secretariat, giving the lead for appeasement, was at that time concerned, above all things, to conciliate Germany, and not to let the cause of the refugees prejudice conciliation.

My day at Oslo gave me a glance at a Jewish community which was hitherto unbeknown to me, as well as the sight of Oslo decked for Christmas, with its fairy-like illumination of the principal streets. It was a small community, but happy in its circumstances. One of the national poets of Norway, Wergeland, whose works were translated into German by the Rabbi, had been a

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doughty fighter for Jewish emancipation in the first half of the nineteenth century ; and the emancipation had endured. The Palestine movement had revived a small Jewish congregation tending to assimilation and complacency ; and Norway had its contingent of pioneers training for life in the Land of Israel. It made its special contribution also to young men from Palestine, who were apprenticed to the mercantile marine, and learning the art of navigation, which may open a fresh destiny for our people along the coast of ancient Phœnicia and Philistia.

The Nazi legislation of September convinced the Jewish leaders in England of the need for greater effort than the communities had yet made to save the young generation in Germany. They recognized that the hope of changing the policy by League intervention was slender. The positive remedy must be to remove the young people more rapidly, and to this end to bring about unification of the Jewish forces in England and America and the Continent. The idea of a more intensive programme was put forward in London by Simon Marks. Macdonald urged that that part of his function which consisted in stimulating and co-ordinating the efforts of private organizations for the refugees should devolve on a new body. The High Commissioner, during his two years of office, had served to keep the refugee question as an international concern before the League, the Governments and the multiplicity of national organizations. His resignation, which "spoke a mouthful", gave a fresh dramatic impulse both to the international and the national efforts. A new phase of the work started in 1936.

The new High Commissioner was to be an officer of the League immediately responsible to the Secretary-General. His functions were more restricted than those of Macdonald : (a) he was concerned only with the refugees outside Germany, and was not to have dealings with the German Government ; (b) he was principally occupied with juridical questions of the refugees, and not with the questions of relief and settlement. It was

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generally felt that an Englishman should be appointed ; and there was a hope that Lord Lytton or Sir Arthur Salter, each of whom had a reputation in connection with the League, would agree to be nominated. They were not free, and the choice fell on Major-General Sir Neil Malcolm, who was chairman of the Committee of Chatham House (The Royal Institute of International Affairs). It was regarded as a special qualification that he had been a member of the Military Mission to Germany at the end of the war, and had personal knowledge of the authorities in the Reich. But the Council decided that the holder of the office should not have any dealings with the German Government. What the office gained in authority as the direct representative of the League, it lost in elasticity, because of the decision to reduce its function.

The League, worsted by Italy in the Ethiopian struggle, was in palpable decline. About to move to its spacious mausoleum from the more homely quarters in the converted hotel on the Quai Wilson, it was a body without a soul. The spirit of Geneva was bitters. It would have required a Nansen to make the refugee office a force for tackling the heart of the problem, to find homes and the chance of work, first for those who had fled from Germany, and secondly for the continuous stream of those who were forced to leave. The Commission became more a symbol than a pivot of international interest.

As it was pointed out by Sir John Hope Simpson in the conclusion of his Survey of the Refugee Problem :—
“The League was concerned with the solution of the interim problem and not with the final solution.” Its moral impotence to help the refugees from persecution was reflected in the military impotence of its members to check the persecutors when, early in 1936, Hitler occupied and refortified the Rhine frontier.

CHAPTER XI

THE REFUGEE TRAIL. II THE COUNCIL FOR GERMAN JEWRY

1935-1939

THE Council for German Jewry was launched in England at the beginning of 1936. At the outset it adopted a definite programme; to help to emigrate within four years from Germany 100,000, mostly young, persons and assist their training for productive occupations. For that purpose a sum of £3,000,000 should be raised, two-thirds to be contributed by the Jewry of America, and one-third by British Jewry, with the help of Continental bodies. The Council was to supplement the national organizations assisting the refugees, whose effort was concentrated on relief and training. The emigration would be directed to all parts of the world; but in that heyday of Palestine expansion and prosperity it was hoped that a large part of the young generation might reach their goal in Palestine. Viscount Samuel, the first High Commissioner of Palestine, was the first Chairman of the Council, and asked me to assist as director for emigration and training. The work had the attraction that it was first shared with one who had been my colleague in Jerusalem, Sir Wyndham Deedes, now one of the heads of the National Council of Social Service. The Hebrew University was indulgent again in giving me leave of absence, and I was once more a licensed vagrant.

Deedes and I had a prelude to the work in a visit to the "special areas" of South Wales, where the main problem, emigration and readaptation, was similar. We were struck by the contrast between the constructive energy that has marked the settlement of the young Jews moving to the land in Palestine, and the numbing

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inertia of those men who, for no fault of their own, were uprooted from their ancestral soil in Wales. The contrast was illustrated individually in one of the remoter Welsh valleys where we met a German-Jewish refugee doctor qualified in England, who was the miners' Doc., and had become within a year the trusted man of the valley, head of the local branch of the British Legion, and called on to do all manner of things, from opening bazaars of the Salvation Army to arbitrating in local disputes.

The launching of the Council from the London docks did not run altogether smoothly. Lord Samuel, Lord Bearstead, and Mr. Simon Marks went to America to secure the co-operation of the leaders of American Jewry in the joint programme. They thought to have accomplished it. But sectional feeling on the other side was strong, and it was months before the American bodies agreed as to their membership. Moreover a rumour that the Council contemplated a plan of liquidation of Jewish property in Germany, which would involve dealing with German exports, caused a hullabaloo before the arrival of the mission. It was necessary for them to repudiate any such plan, although in the light as well of the past experience with the transfer agreement concerning the property of German Jews settling in Palestine, as of the ultimate confiscation of the Jewish property in Germany, the abandonment was regrettable. The choice was between satisfying the emotion of the Jewish masses outside Germany and facing the economic realities of Jewry inside Germany; and German Jewry was the loser. It was difficult, too, to rally American Jewry as one body to a programme of emigration which was directed equally to Palestine and other lands.

The co-operation of England and America seemed almost as difficult for a time as the co-operation in European politics of France and England. Nevertheless, the Council gradually got into its stride, and in England the appeal produced three-quarters of the million pounds required. My main activity was transferred to

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the Council, and I moved from Sentinel House to Woburn House in the same Bloomsbury highway. I was thenceforth more concerned with direct activity in Jewish bodies, but I was the liaison with the High Commissioner, and was constantly travelling in the European countries.

One of our first concerns was to establish close relations with the Reichsvertretung in Germany. With Deedes and Peter Scott, (the head of an Order of Friends which directed the settlement of English unemployed in subsistence production), I flew to Germany at Whitsun, to concert measures with the Jewish and Christian bodies and the German authorities for carrying through the programme. I found an unexpected difficulty on arrival. By a new regulation the Jewish bodies were prohibited from having dealings with Jewish visitors from foreign countries until the police authorities had given approval. For three days the office of the Gestapo was shut for the holidays. I was in Coventry as far as our Jewish friends were concerned ; while Deedes and Scott, immune from the ban, conferred with them. In the meantime I could visit Consuls and English friends, see the stupendous stadium which was being finished for the Olympic games, and visit in the old "Palast" a war exhibition which was attracting crowds. War, past and future, was the constant thought of Nazi Germany. I passed the scrutiny of the Gestapo at their headquarters, where the notices in the corridor adjured you to keep calm, take a deep breath, and sign clearly ; and where armed police accompanied your every step. The officer remarked cheerily that, if I had any difficulty in getting information from the Jewish bodies, I should let him know. We had an intensive week visiting the institutions and training places of the community in Berlin, Frankfurt, and Breslau. German Jewry faced its fate with understanding, courage, and dignity. With German thoroughness and "methode" it carried through a concentrated effort to prepare the young generation for emigration, and to secure that the exodus should be ordered and planned.

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Nearly one-quarter of the Jewish population had left. While emigration was the major preoccupation, the community enjoyed a conscious inner life. Paradoxically it obtained during the years of persecution a spiritual freedom greater than it had before ; and it was immune from the mental dragooning which was imposed upon the "Aryan" mass. It could talk and think freely in its own circles, and write also with some measure of freedom, though always under the menace of arbitrary oppression.

Two communal newspapers dealt courageously and constructively with the Jewish position ; and a Jewish "Kulturbund", a cultural institution, which counted 70,000 members and comprised hundreds of Jewish artists of all kinds driven from their activity in the general society, organized operatic, musical, and dramatic performances and lectures throughout Germany for the Jewish community. In this first year Jewish companies were still permitted to play the classics of German literature and music ; Goethe's *Faust* and Lessing's *Nathan Der Weise* (whose hero is a Jew), Beethoven's Symphonies. A later order imposed the restriction that "non-Aryans" should not act or play the works of the Aryan German genius. Mendelssohn was allowed, Beethoven or Wagner was disallowed. The Jewish theatre might play Shakespeare, Molière, or Shaw, but not Goethe or Hauptmann. Fortunately music and drama are international, and the Jewish theatre could draw on the world except Aryan Germany. At the same time it produced plays which had a special interest because the theme was Jewish or the writer was a Jew. We saw a comedy by a Hungarian Jew, in which the hero was a Socialist butler who, elected deputy to Parliament while in the service of the Conservative Prime Minister, continues to accompany his master to the Chamber until by his Parliamentary skill he defeats the Government. No "Aryan" might see that play.

Religious life also was strengthened. Martin Buber, the philosopher, was the leader of the new mystic Chasidism and a powerful influence on the youth. While Jewish

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nationalism spread both in the younger and the older generations, it had in Germany a special spiritual quality. The study of Jewish history and tradition, as well as of Hebrew, was extraordinarily stimulated. But as a Gentile religious philosopher noted, the Jews did not, as of old in times of trouble, turn towards their God with repentance. "Can it be that Israel, surprised and perhaps paralysed by its nationalism, no longer dares to put trust in such a power?"¹ It was rather that agnosticism was fused with the national ideal.

I was invited that summer, as representative of Jerusalem University, to a Conference at Heidelberg of the International Universities' Association, which was to synchronize with the 550th anniversary of the University. It was tempting to go, and taste Nazi propaganda in the place where I had my first contact with German life thirty years earlier. Instead, however, I attended, on behalf of the Jewish Refugee Organization, the Intergovernmental Conference at Geneva, which drew up a provisional statute of the civil rights of the refugees in place of the informal recommendations of the former Governing Body. Fortunately for our cause, a Socialist Government was in office both in France and in Belgium. The representative of France was the grandson of Karl Marx, M. Longuet; he spoke with the enthusiastic accent of one who had the cause of humanity at heart, and did not invoke at every sentence "La France". The representative of Belgium was a veteran of Socialist and Labour Conferences, M. de Brouckère. The two together over-bore the timidity of other delegates and secured, what was little enough, a provisional "arrangement", which laid down minimum rights of residence and travel and security from expulsion. It took nearly two years before these rights were translated into a definite statute, which included very guarded provisions concerning employment.

The meeting of the Intergovernmental Conference

¹ *Anti-Semitism*, by Jacques Maritain, p. 12, 1939.

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coincided with a meeting of the Council of the League which produced three dramatic incidents : the hissing by Italian pressmen of the Negus of Abyssinia, who had come in person to plead the cause of his afflicted country ; the suicide, in the precincts of the new League Palace, of a refugee journalist ; and the cocking of the snook by the Danzig Nazi, Greiser, when the Council imposed its ban on Nazi legislation of the Senate of the " Free City ". I missed these three sensations, being occupied in observing our Conference. But the incidents lost nothing in the telling in the Brasserie, where the delegates of the League congregated at night. They marked a growing contempt or despair about the League, the " Half a League backwards ! "

In the latter part of that summer I made another tour to America, of which something is said in another chapter. I was back in Geneva for the Assembly when Sir Neil was reappointed to his office for two years. It was hoped that the Assembly might be induced to adopt a proposal for a single League organization to embrace the help of all refugees. The Norwegian, Hansen, who had in the meantime become President of the Nansen Office, seemed cast for the part of the successor to Nansen, for he was in dead earnest about his charges. It was found, however, impossible in the courteous and tepid atmosphere of the Assembly, and in face of Soviet hostility to action for Russian refugees, to carry the more radical measure. For two years more we had to acquiesce in a League office for the German refugees which was narrowly restricted in the scope of its activity.

I was in Palestine in the winter of 1936-7 ; but resumed the refugee round in the spring, combining it with an effort for the University of Jerusalem which was increasingly the magnet of the exiled Jewish mind. I attended in May, as representative of the University, an academic celebration in honour of the 4th Centenary of the University of Lausanne. The Academy was founded at the time of the Reformation, particularly for the study

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of Hebrew and Greek originals of the Testaments ; and that study has endured. The Rector, who had been a Protestant pastor, greeted me in Hebrew with *Shalom Aleichem*. We enjoyed two days of piled-up festivities ; a procession of professors and delegates in gaudy robes, and of students, organized, as in the Middle Ages, by "nations", arrayed in their medieval costumes, through bedecked streets to the cathedral to hear an austere service ; speeches in the *Aula* of the University, banquets and more speeches, a visit de luxe to the Castle of Chillon, and a drive de luxe through the mountains. The University included three Jewish professors, one from Germany, one from Lithuania, one from Switzerland ; and nearly 100 Jewish students, many from Poland and America. We were impressed by the effort of the Swiss for university education, their pride in the Academy as the unifying institution of their culture, and their liberal admission of foreign teachers and students ; their upholding of an ideal which is at once cantonal and national, international and universal.

Each of four neighbouring Cantons, Geneva, Vaud, Freiburg, and Berne, had its University endowed by the State and open to all. In each not less than 1,000 men and women were enrolled. That achievement had a pointed lesson to the Jewish people of 16,000,000 who were striving to develop their one university in the world.

The sense of the significance of the new Temple on Mount Scopus was beginning to spread. The total exile of the Jewish mind and genius from Germany, and its partial exile from Poland and other countries of Eastern Europe, enhanced the importance of the Jerusalem haven. The Academic Assistance Council, which had been created in England to salvage the wrecked scholars and scientists from Germany, and was converted into a permanent Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, was quicker in that recognition than the Jewish community. But we were able to secure a contribution in England of £10,000. The major part was

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given at a dinner-party of James de Rothschild, who inherited from his father, Baron Edmond, a devotion to the Palestine renaissance. Weizmann moved the dozen guests with his own conviction that Jewish genius must be rooted somewhere in the soil.

The work of the Council proceeded in 1936 and 1937 according to plan. While emigration to Palestine was restricted because of a continuance of violent strife, the openings in other countries overseas were steadily enlarged. The efforts in the United States and South America and two British Dominions at last bore fruit. South Africa, indeed, which in 1936 was half open, was provoked by the dispatch of a ship carrying 700 refugees, anxious to arrive before a change of the regulations, to close its frontiers rigidly at the end of the year; but Australia realized at last that selected refugees from Europe might have some part in meeting her need for immigration, which could no longer be satisfied by British stock. After attending the Zionist Congress at Zurich in August, I went to Germany with my wife for two weeks, and sifted the Australian candidates in Stuttgart—which retained a shadow of the kindliness of Southern Germany even for Jews—Berlin, Breslau, Gleiwitz (Upper Silesia), and Frankfurt. We spent, too, a few days in the less oppressive atmosphere of Cracow and Warsaw.

The situation in Germany had deteriorated from the last year steadily, but not catastrophically. The solidarity of the community was unbroken, and the method and thoroughness of its organization were maintained by the heads, Max Warburg, Dr. Baeck, Dr. Hirsch, Dr. Eppstein, who remained at their posts. In Upper Silesia, where a Geneva Convention protecting minorities remained in force till that summer, and a vestige of respect for treaty obligations had endured, the persecution of Jews had only just had its vent. Gleiwitz and other towns with a Jewish population were plastered with slogans against them; and we stayed in a humble inn because in other hotels Jews were "nicht

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erwuensch't". The work of retraining was maintained in face of every obstacle. At Frankfurt a horticultural school was placed in the Jewish cemetery for which the site, fortunately perhaps, had been acquired a year or two before. The vacant land up to the latest graves was turned to a vegetable garden; so that the Hebrew name of the burial-place, "the House of Life," had a new significance.

Poland appeared a country of freedom after Germany. Old Cracow was a revelation of beauty; new Cracow a revelation of military dominance in the young Polish nation, which the events of two years later were to render tragically ironical.

How futile seem, in retrospect, the endless marching bands of soldiers weighed down with their packs, the rumbling lorries and guns constantly processing, the splendid officers' club and sports ground, and the pilgrim-place of Poland, the Pilsudski grave and monument. Old Cracow, with its medieval walls, its medieval churches, its medieval market-place, and its medieval ramparts converted to a garden surrounding the town, its medieval university, its medieval castle, its medieval ghetto:—here were things that gave character to Poland and the things that should endure. What more than anything else seemed to mark the historic continuity was the trumpeter in the church tower of St. Mary, who each hour of the day and night proclaimed from north, south, east, and west the passing of time. A trumpeter had blown his trumpet there for 700 years, from the time when the Poles were watching for the oncoming Tartar hords. Has he survived the orgy of destruction?

Warsaw, after Cracow, was almost unhistoric; but its ghetto, within five minutes' walk of the centre of the town, seemed to be rooted from ages past and for ages to come. The Directors of the Joint Distribution Committee were making an attempt to expand the reconstructive efforts; yet these were puny in face of the threat to the economic existence of 3,000,000 souls!

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To the anti-Semitism of men was added the anti-Semitism of things, economic change which took away the livelihood of the myriad petty traders. The Jew was crushed between the millstones of economic nationalism and national economy. The second sight of Polish Jewry confirmed my feeling of 1934, that, apart from the effort in Palestine which would take a fraction of the annual increase, we were not giving a genuine chance in life to the young generation. The stoppage of emigration to the United States, which had reached before the War 60,000 annually, aggravated the position. The stampede was frozen. Felix Warburg, who had attended at Zurich the Council of the Jewish Agency, had it in mind that a bigger effort must be made for Eastern Jewry. And that winter I went, at his suggestion, to Paris to consult with the heads of the organizations about a constructive programme. Before anything was done, he died, a victim to his devotion which brought him to Europe and to the turmoils of the Jewish assembly, when he should have reposed. Nobody in America or in Europe could at once take up his mantle of responsibility.

That summer of 1937 is impressed on my mind not only by the weeks in Germany and Poland, but because it was the last time we were able to travel freely in a free France. We flew from Frankfurt to Paris, as to another world. The International Exhibition was open ; and we spent some days in the wonderland along the Seine. What stood out in the French pavilions was the pride of French labour and French science which were made visually triumphant. By a piece of prophetic symbolism the Palace of Peace was outside the precincts ; while just within the main portals two monster palaces dominated the scene, each a boast of armed power and of total subjection of man to the State. The Soviet and the Reich pavilions were masterpieces of propaganda, which seemed to innocent eyes to cancel each other out ; but the spiritual likeness was to prevail over the economic unlikeness. The British pavilion, flying its flag some way

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below, appeared in contrast to be a masterpiece of conservative, unimaginative complacency.

From Paris we drove to Brittany, and saw another side of France, the Catholic loyalty of the Celtic peasantry and fisher-folk, who have the bond of kinship with our Celtic fringe. We passed through Rennes, where the Dreyfus drama of my boyhood had been enacted, and spent some days at Quiberon, with its memories of the Revolution and English landings: then some days on the northern coast, near the home of Rénan, the modern champion of free thought in the church; and we came back through Normandy. If we look back into European history beyond the last few centuries, the union of England and France, and indeed of Western Europe and America, in a federal system, seems consequential enough.

1938 was a year of doom for Europe, as well as for our refugee activities; and the peak year of my experiences and vagabondage. The tragedy of the post-War period was approaching a climax. Early in the year I passed a few days in Berlin, and saw the relentless deterioration. In March the Nazis marched into Vienna, and overnight, as it were, destroyed the structure and foundations of Austrian Jewry. The stories that came through of calculated barbarity and deliberate destruction were almost unbelievable, even to a public which had become hardened to Nazi ruthlessness. Disregarding Foreign Office warning, I went to Vienna a week after the Nazi entry, saw what was happening, and took some preliminary steps about relief organization.

German troops were poured into the city, occupying all the palaces, like the Goths bursting into Rome. It was the end of the old civilization of the capital of the Holy Roman Empire, which was turned to a provincial town. Blindly the crowd welcomed the conquerors. While I was there, Goering proclaimed to a howling audience that as part of the four-year plan Vienna should be made Judenrein. "We don't like the Jews, they don't like us. They shall go." His minions set about

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the execution of the plan, not in four years, but in one. Life was made intolerable. Suicide took its daily toll ; the principal synagogues, the charitable institutions, and the community offices were ransacked and occupied by the soldiers, and thousands of the Jewish population were threatened with starvation. Thousands besieged the legations and consulates of the countries to which they fondly hoped to emigrate. A queue stretched outside the Legation of the United States over a quarter of a mile in length ; six thousand persons a day passed through that Chancery and were registered. American affidavits were the principal life-line. Nearly every Jewish leader was imprisoned, but one of the officials of the Kultus-gemeinde had been able to stick to his post, and with the help of the American Minister, which I invoked, he carried on the most urgent task of feeding thousands of the destitute in soup kitchens.

Personally I was not molested in any way during those days. But when, a month later, I sought to go to Vienna again, coming this time from Palestine, I was rudely rebuffed. I travelled by night from Trieste ; and as we approached the Yugoslav-Austrian frontier, German officers boarded the train and inspected passports. My British passport had been issued in Jerusalem. The officer, noting Jerusalem, asked me, " Are you a Jew ? " I said, " Yes. " " You must get off the train, you cannot proceed. " All protests, of course, were vain. I was thrown off roughly at the Austrian frontier station of Spielfeld, and my bag and passport handed to a police officer. I was left to spend the night as I pleased, with orders to report the next morning at the station office. In the waiting-room I found a sorry and pitiable group of Jews, who had been taken off a train going the other way to Yugoslavia from Austria. They were Yugoslav subjects and had authority to travel, but the local bully had thrown them out. In the morning I saw the police officer on the station and, after being thoroughly searched, convinced him of the innocence of my errand. He agreed

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that the Jewish problem in Austria must be solved, and hoped I would get permission to go on, but he must await the Nazi officer who had ejected me. A little later the Nazi appeared and shouted at me : " Go back to Jerusalem where you belong." I demanded to speak with our consulate in Vienna or with a German official at Graz, but to no purpose. I was hustled on a train which took me back to the Yugoslav frontier, and was detained under open arrest in the station at Maribor. I still could not get into communication with any British Consulate. It was a Sunday and the 1st May. I had to return to Trieste. Our consul there could do nothing ; I came back to London and laid the matter before the Foreign Office. In due course, after some months, a statement was obtained from the German authorities that there had been a misunderstanding by the local officials : and steps were taken to prevent the recurrence. In the meantime the Foreign Office obtained an assurance that I could go to Vienna ; and I was there for two weeks without personal incident.

I had to report to the Gestapo my purpose and my dealings with the heads of the Jewish community, and my comings in and goings out were narrowly watched. But I saw several of the higher officials, and had a long interview with the Burgomeister, a sincere National Socialist, who was genuinely humane and anxious that there should be a square deal for the Jewish evacuation, but as powerless as the Lord Mayor of London to help. I spent much time with the leaders of the Kultusgemeinde who had been released from prison, Dr. Loewenherz who, worthy of his name (Cœur de Lion), stuck to his post for the next two years and a half ; Dr. Rothenberg, the head of the Palestine office which enjoyed a sneaking protection from the Nazis ; Dr. Marmorstein, former Rabbi, who threw himself into the practical work of emigration ; and Dr. Forster, who calmly directed the work of education and retraining. To those men and many hundred assistants I would pay a tribute for their

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sacrifice of their chance of escape in order to enable the mass of the community to leave, staying on the bridge for the better part of two years while the ship was being deliberately wrecked.

I saw during that fortnight also the ear-specialist, Dr. Heinrich Neumann, who died in America in the winter of 1939. He had been consulted by kings and princes, and notably by our Duke of Windsor; and was, before the annexation, a rich as well as a famous man. He was thrown into prison, but on my second visit had been released. An Orthodox Jew, full of humour and a critical sense which was not impaired by his trials or his deafness, he preserved a touch of Viennese lightness. He thought at that time to accept the invitation of the University of Jerusalem to direct a department of the new hospital. I urged him to do so, but he was loathe to cut his ties with his beloved Vienna; and the Nazi authorities, recognizing his value as a visitor-drawing magnet, promised this and that. For a year he was undecided and stayed, but in the end turned to America, only to die.

I did not see in Vienna the most distinguished of all the Austrian men of science, Professor Freud. He was still a prisoner in his own house; but soon after my visit English and American friends secured his release, and he came to London. I saw him there living quietly near Regent's Park, and working at his last book *Moses and Monotheism*. He was a Governor of the Hebrew University and I went to see him in connection with the University. Over 80 years of age, he retained an almost frightening sharpness of mind and accuracy. Though he had, as a scientist, a belief in the University, he expressed complete scepticism about the rebuilding of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. That was for him a part of religious superstition and error, of an inherited complex about a Promised Land and Chosen People, which sanity should clear away. In his attitude to Palestine he was contrasted with Einstein. The one beaming with

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enthusiastic hope, the other detached with critical analysis. I found it, too, rather alarming when, in the midst of our talk, he would suddenly demand to know from what starting-point we had come to some remark, so that he might follow the vagrant workings of my mind.

On my second visit to Vienna the period of open violence in the streets had ceased: the responsible Nazi authorities realized that private outrage and private robbery were demoralizing to the robbers as well as to the victims. The policy, which was pursued with German thoroughness, imposed on Austrian Nazi malice, was rapid spoliation and the systematic maintenance of panic among the Jewish population. In less than two months almost all Jews had been thrown out of employment, and all important Jewish businesses confiscated or placed under an "Aryan" Commissar. Demoralization was procured by the indiscriminate arrest by day and by night of Jews of all classes. The Razzias were not restricted to the rich, but included doctors and lawyers, merchants and employees, poor artisans and "luft-menschen". A wholesale drive was made against Jews living in certain regions, particularly the Burgenland close to the Yugoslav frontier, and Linz, which was sacred soil because it comprised the native home of Hitler. The 5,000 Burgenland Jews were rounded up immediately after the annexation; some hundreds were thrown over the frontiers, most were driven to Vienna. Some who were placed on a barge were not allowed to disembark, and for months were haplessly afloat on the Danube in "no-man's-water".

The authorities demanded a mass emigration. A well-meaning Dutch philanthropist, who had before been concerned with the aid of prisoners in Austria, was allowed to establish an emigration Bureau for Jews and non-Aryans. In a few weeks he registered the names of 20,000 persons. The authorities stated that they held a fund of 2,000,000 marks out of the confiscated Jewish property for the assistance of emigration. But

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the places to which the 20,000 or any fraction of them could go were not available. The effect of the action was to add despair to chaos, and to lead to desperate attempts to get across the frontiers of countries or to be smuggled into Palestine.

One single port in the world was open to the wandering visa-less refugee, the International Settlement of Shanghai where, owing to the Japanese incursion, the Municipal authority could take no steps to regulate immigration. Each month from the summer of 1938 a thousand or more men, women, and children were taken from Germany, put on boats, almost all destitute, almost all without prospect of employment, and dumped there. Still harder was the lot of those on the errant ships which sought to discharge their cargoes in countries that did demand visas and enforced rules of immigration. Refugees could not be repatriated because they had no *patria*; but they could be returned to a concentration camp. To avoid that fate they tried every device, and appealed to the philanthropic organizations in all countries. Some bands which, with the connivance of the Gestapo, set out for Palestine on old decaying tramps and wandered over the sea until all their provisions were exhausted and disease had broken out, literally burnt their boats, hoping they might move the rulers to compassion. In the end the British authorities in Palestine had to admit them. The conscience of the public rebelled against a policy of allowing refugees to die on the seas or forcing them back violently to a lingering death. The governments of the liberal peoples, however, felt compelled against their will to deny a right of asylum because, if they opened the sluice-gates, they were like to be overwhelmed with the floods. To the deliberate inhumanity of man to man in the countries of persecution was added the impersonal and involuntary harshness of man to man in the countries of expected refuge. Refugees were compelled to be "bandits", in the original meaning of the word, outlaws and law-breakers.

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The plight of children moved the immediate sympathy of the peoples in England, Holland, Palestine, the United States, and other countries. In Austria the segregation of the Jewish children from the Aryan was complete, and the youngest were not spared. The infants of the kindergarten might not play in the public parks ; and painted on the door of their school in Vienna was the legend, "Cursed be the Jew." In those summer months homes were offered in European countries and in Palestine for a thousand or two of the children ; the larger movement to save children was initiated in the winter, when the horror of the outrages against the Jews throughout the Reich was perpetrated.

Soon after the annexation of Austria President Roosevelt gave a lead to action by the governments for the salvage of the refugees. He invited the representatives of governments to a conference to deal with the extension of emigration. Americans have a faith in doing good by impulse, and no programme for the conference was disclosed. Mr. Myron Taylor, formerly President of the United States Steel Trust, and a personal friend of Franklin Roosevelt, was appointed to be his representative at the conference, and came to Europe to prepare the arrangements. Two years later he was to be the President's personal representative in a bigger cause of humanity. He had read reports which I made for Macdonald's High Commission, and invited me to come to Florence. I went straight from the gloom and horror of Vienna to the loveliness of an Italian palazzo on the hills of Fiesole in June. And I spent two days in the lap of luxury, more seductive than I had known even in the United States. Myron Taylor was, like Felix Warburg, an embodiment of humanitarian feeling. The species of humanitarian, like the word itself, peculiar to Americans, consists of men who, having achieved enormous wealth and big position in industrial or financial enterprise, devote all their powers and bring their organizing ability to philanthropic causes. During those days we discussed aspects

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of the refugee problem, the scope and programme of the conference, and the practical measures which should be undertaken. The refugee was a symbol of our period of chaos.

Inevitably the fresh effort of the representatives of governments to deal with the problem aroused extravagant and almost messianic hopes. More than 100 organizations, most of them Jewish, sent their emissaries to Evian to present their needs or their panaceas, and if that was denied them, to waylay the delegates. The conference was held in the Hotel Royal above the lake ; and for ten days of a lovely July the corridors and the park were thronged with expectant delegations and disillusioned journalists. I was deputed by the Council for German Jewry and several of the large Jewish organizations to present their views. The effort which was made to bring about a united front of the principal delegations met with but partial success ; and in the end the Committee of the Conference decided to hear in one afternoon the representatives of thirty bodies which were allotted ten minutes, and when the Committee grew weary, five minutes each, to recite their piece. There was translation but no question. The audience was dubbed the " Modern Wailing-Wall ". It was a pale and painful reflection of the hearing of the smaller Powers before the Committee of Ten at the Peace Conference, 1919.

At Evian I renewed association with James Macdonald who came from America as adviser to Mr. Taylor. Several of the Governing Body of Macdonald's Commission were gathered in the assembly ; and Senator Béranger, the former French member, presided over the first sittings. The principal English delegate was Lord Winterton, who was to become the Chairman of the Executive Committee established by the Conference to work out specific plans for emigration and settlement. Captain Victor Cazalet, M.P., who had been prominent as a whole-hearted supporter of Zionist work in Palestine,

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was attached as his secretary. Now he was as enthusiastic for a mass settlement of refugees in Northern Rhodesia. That plan had found an eloquent and persuasive champion in the Hungarian Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, who having for years been the promoter of European Federation (Pan-Europa), was touched with messianic faith about a Jewish State in darkest Africa. He hovered with other prophets about the precincts of the Conference, and the minds of many of the delegates must have been a whirl of dreams and projects.

The published outcome of the Conference seemed a little flat, like the mineral-water of Evian. A resolution confirming vague principles, a decision to appeal to the German Government about fair conditions of evacuation, the appointment of an Executive Committee to work out plans for enlarging emigration overseas and to explore possibilities of group settlement, and lastly, and discouragingly, a decision that the Governments should not bear any financial responsibility for emigration and settlement. It was remarked that Evian spelt backwards gave "naive". The democracies had a little conscience but less faith. Their governments were still unwilling to try to solve the problem and fell back on palliatives. The more difficult the task, the smaller their will to deal with it radically. Yet something was gained. The American example of opening immigration to the limit of the German quota, which amounted to nearly 30,000 a year, was followed by a few other States. Notably the Commonwealth of Australia, which hitherto had been niggardly in the admission of alien refugees, and at the Conference adopted a most cautious tone, announced a few months later her willingness to admit 5,000 a year. She was becoming aware of her weakness as an empty continent. Unless she filled her spaces with assimilable immigrants, she was likely to be a prey to the land-hungry population of another race which was not very distant.

A few weeks after returning from Evian, I went to

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Australia, as a delegate of Chatham House to the Commonwealth Relations Conference at Sydney, and with a view to see what I could do for the expansion of the work for the refugees. Before I started, I had an encounter in London with the only film-star of the first rank whom I have met. Eddie Cantor had come at his own instance to obtain support in England for the cause of refugee youth-emigration to Palestine. Eloquent, persistent, and irresistible for that cause in America, he wished to obtain in England 100,000 dollars during the ten days of his visit. He pressed James Macdonald to return from Evian to help him. Macdonald came, but his help by word of mouth was not required. Within a few days Cantor, at meetings in provincial cities where the Council had scraped for two years for less, obtained pledges for his 100,000 dollars. His ambition grew; he would get £100,000 in the time appointed; and he did. I watched mass psychology under the influence of his personality. He would say a few simple things, and his audience, large or small, surrendered. On his last day he gave a party for his friends and helpers, and announced that he was still a few thousand pounds short of the goal. He could not leave things in that unsatisfactory way. In a quarter of an hour he had raked in pledges for another £7,000.

I have described my visits to Australia and South Africa in another chapter. When I returned at the end of November, 1938, after Europe had passed through a grim crisis, I found a human crisis in our work. The pogrom of November, following the assassination of an obscure German diplomat in Paris by a frenzied youth, struck a jaded world with horror. The Nazis set out to wreak their revenge at one blow on every Jewish community in the Reich. 30,000 Jews were thrown into concentration camps. Hundreds of synagogues were burnt to the ground or destroyed. Jewish property in every town and village was looted and sacked. No man, woman, or child of the Jewish race had any security.

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A fine of one thousand million marks (£80,000,000), a quarter of the *nominal* value of all Jewish property, was imposed. It was clear that they were aiming at the extermination of the Jewish population ; and men and women of goodwill sought to turn the pools of misery into wells of compassion. We were starting the *Annus Iras*. The skies were black with the wings of the chickens coming home to roost.

The refugee organizations were faced with an immense burden. The pace of the work of salvage must be multiplied manifold to counter the increase of the pace of persecution. The altogetherhness of everything overwhelmed us, and the forced march of time overtook our puny efforts. Whereas the Jewish Committee, which was concerned with the help of refugees in England, had in the previous five years dealt with 10,000 refugees registered in England, during 1938 it had to deal with 10,000 new arrivals, and during the first half of 1939 with another 30,000. Whereas a Committee for the Care of Children had during the two previous years brought over and placed in English schools about 300 children, the larger body into which it was merged, the British Movement for the Care of Children, brought to England 1,500 during the last two months of 1938, and in the following months another 7,500.

My wife threw herself into this effort to save the children. She won for the cause Lord Samuel, who persuaded the Home Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, to relax the regulations and cut the red tape about admission of aliens. She gathered a band of workers, including some old Palestine friends, who were at it day and night. Within two days of my arrival I crossed to Holland to consult with the Dutch Committee, which had been moved also by the cry of the children, so as to secure a joint working. The feeling of the peoples during those months was warm ; and the frosts of the impersonal Government offices were a little thawed. But, as often in the work for the refugees, an incessant struggle was

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waged between the humanitarian feeling of the peoples to whom misery was misery, and the political caution of governments reluctant to tackle seriously hard problems. The peoples responded to the call for asylum, so that the victims of persecution might enjoy the most elementary human right, the right of existence. The bureaucracies were worried by the thought of admitting, in time of international tension, numbers of *déracinés*, and the perpetual economic stress aggravated the difficulties. But in England the Jewish community, which had hitherto shouldered the burden of the Jewish refugees with scarcely any aid from outside, received generous support of the Gentile community. Lord Baldwin was the spokesman of the conscience of England in a broadcast appeal for the victims of tyranny, above all, for the children ; and a fund bearing his name was launched and sponsored vigorously for some months by *The Times* and other journals.

Inevitably, overlapping occurred of appeals and relief agencies ; and inevitably a measure of grumbling about the creaking machinery of guarantees and permits, visas and transport. For a time, too, inevitably there was some confusion, as the staffs of Government departments and of refugee organizations were expanded several-fold to deal with the immense pressure of the work ; and the newcomers, whether volunteers or paid workers, were finding their way by trial and error. The blessed word for a time was co-ordination, until it lost its blessedness. Lord Hailey, the most distinguished of Indian ex-Governors, was called in to be the Chairman of a Co-ordinating Committee, which should present the needs of all the bodies to the government departments. It was thought, too, that the location of all the bodies in one building would help to secure easier and more uniform working ; and a Bloomsbury hotel was acquired, only to be found peculiarly unsuitable. After a few months when confusion, if not worse confounded, had not given place to order, Lord Hailey resigned his office.

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A cynic suggested mottoes that should be posted up in refugee offices : " Conscious as we are of each others' shortcomings." " The part is the enemy of the whole." " Cultivate callousness."

In the vast expansion of the work of the Council we lost the direction of Lord Samuel, who had been its President from its foundation. His place was taken by Lord Reading. It was more than a change of persons. The attention of the Council was concentrated on the local problem in England rather than the world aspects. England had become the principal country of asylum ; and our funds as well as our activities were absorbed in the handling of the 60,000, who found here a temporary resting-place.

The greatness of the need demanded larger international measures than the Governments were prepared to take. During the nine months following the pogroms of November, some 200,000 men, women, and children were forced out from greater Germany, most of them into the neighbouring countries. A further pitiful exodus was driven from Bohemia and Moravia, when the Nazis perpetrated their second rape of the country and called it the establishment of a Protectorate. For that minor problem Government aid was obtained, the greater part of the £4,000,000 conscience money which the British Parliament had voted for the help of the exiles from the Sudetenland. For the larger problem the Governments salved their consciences by relaxing the administrative regulations of admission, but left it to philanthropy to provide the sinews of help. Yet it was clear that private giving was no more adequate for the solution, and that any sincere effort to find a home for a portion of the outcasts in overseas lands could be realized only by Government contribution or international loan, such as had been granted for the settlement of the Greek refugees.

The League of Nations, at the Assembly of 1938 which synchronized with the Munich crisis, adopted a proposal

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for the unification of its work for refugees. The Nansen Organization and the High Commission for the refugees from Germany were merged, and a new High Commissioner was appointed. The choice fell on another Indian ex-Governor, Sir Herbert Emerson. The office was severed more completely from the Secretariat at Geneva ; it was autonomous in its relation both to the League and to the Governments, and unfettered by any Governing Body nominated by the States.

The Intergovernmental Committee for emigration, established by the Evian Conference, had for a time its own Executive also in London ; and its Director, Mr. Rublee, an American lawyer of repute, had it as his main task to negotiate with the German Government about planned emigration. After various rebuffs he was able in the early months of 1939 to meet with German financial officials. Schacht was the first German emissary ; but in the midst of the negotiations he was superseded. His successor, euphemistically named Wohlthat, carried them on ; and in the end a document was submitted to the humanitarian Governments. It was in the nature of an act of grace by the Reich, a Capitulation, in accordance with which it was prepared to allow its non-Aryan subjects to leave the country with a tiny fraction of their confiscated properties, in the form not of cash but of personal or capital goods for their settlement. But that grace was conditional upon action of the other governments to devise definite plans of settlement, and to bring into being a corporation which would execute the plans, and to that end raise capital from its own and philanthropic funds. The hard-wrung concession was bandied between Governments and the principal refugee organizations, and did not come into operation before the War began. Mr. Rublee retired as soon as the concession was submitted ; and the Intergovernmental Committee appointed in his place Sir Herbert Emerson to co-ordinate personally the efforts of the League and the non-League international bodies.

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The plans of overseas settlement never caught a favouring breeze. The intensification of the persecutors called for greater activity in the exploration of homes ; and the British and the American Governments encouraged the sending of survey commissions—at the expense of the refugee organizations. A mixed Anglo-American body of experts examined British Guiana which, explored for El Dorado by Walter Raleigh, had lain almost derelict for centuries. Its report, which the Colonial Office published, was not glowing, but did recommend experimental settlement on a substantial scale, which might be the prelude of settlement of a large mass. It was attacked, particularly by the Jewish bodies, equally for its hopefulness and for its caution. By an unfortunate coincidence it was issued a few days before the publication of the British Government's statement of policy in Palestine, and it was judged to be a clumsy cover for the betrayal of the promise about the National Home. British Guiana was dubbed British Gehenna.

Another purely British Commission went out to Northern Rhodesia, and came back with a report not more favourable than that which the spies brought from Canaan. Local reluctance to encourage any but British settlers with considerable capital led to a statement of conditions of settlement that were almost prohibitive. The colony twice the size of Great Britain had 11,000 white inhabitants ; but it was judged that it could provide room for only 150 more settlers over a period of years. American bodies explored the possibilities of the Philippine Islands, San Domingo, and Ecuador. In each case the experts reported that large areas were available for agricultural development ; but as the Governments were shy of offering any contribution for settlement, and the organizations could not find the millions necessary in addition to maintaining the infiltration immigration, the reports did not carry things much further. A Dutch Jew, dissatisfied with the efforts of

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other bodies, governmental or private, formed a new organization, and with his own resources financed an exploration of Dutch Guiana. The report was not dissimilar from that rendered on the neighbouring British colony. In neither case was it implemented, even on the smallest scale, by settlement before the War burst. The story of group settlement of the refugees is hitherto a record of love's labour lost, except only for the bright spot of Palestine and the speck of Domingo. Pericles in his Funeral Oration said of the Athenians : " We love the beautiful with cheapness." The States, in their relations to the refugees, loved humanity with cheapness !

During the hectic months between my return from South Africa and the outbreak of war, I was concerned on behalf of the Council in these different efforts. But my particular interest was with the central organizations in Germany and Austria, the infiltration immigration to Palestine and to other countries, and, lastly, with a new effort to establish in England a transit camp on a large scale for male refugees who had a prospect of emigration to countries overseas, but must wait some months before their visa for America or Australia could be obtained. Thousands in Germany had been thrown into concentration camps and released after battering, on condition that they left the country within a short interval. Thousands more young men in the prime of manhood were threatened with immediate incarceration unless they could get out. The Jewish leaders in Germany regarded it as the most urgent need to find places of refuge for them pending their emigration overseas. They hoped that the European countries between them could provide the temporary haven. Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland gave a modest start by providing small encampments for a few hundreds who had escaped over their frontiers and evaded control. In England the Home Office was responsive, not to the extent of offering a camp, but by way of administrative facilities for

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admitting persons to a camp which we would find and maintain.

One of our Committee recalled a camp which he had helped to build in 1914 on the Kent coast near Sandwich. Known then as the Richborough Camp, it lay in the shadow of one of the Roman fortress encampments in Britain, and by the side of one of the romantic Q ports of the last War. It was in private ownership and almost completely derelict. Our Chairman, Sir Robert Waley-Cohen, with whom action follows suggestion as the thunder lightning, secured the lease, and in February, 1939, we brought over 100 skilled manual workers amongst those to be saved, to prepare the camp for its full complement. We reached our 1,000 inhabitants by May, and rapidly gathered 3,500 before war broke out. The camp was a city of refuge, equal in its population to the neighbouring Cinque-port of Sandwich, and with a very lively society. It excelled in the activities of entertainment; its orchestra, its dance-band, its cinema attracted more than local interest. Its internal organization, based on goodwill and comradeship, like an English public school, and its educational activities were not less remarkable. Shortly after the outbreak of war the Archbishop of Canterbury cheered the men with an address in which he claimed that they should be regarded not as refugees but as fellow fighters in the struggle against the forces of evil. A little later the men were given the opportunity of enlisting for national service with the British forces. The first hundreds were enlisted before the end of the year and trained by military officers in the Camp. Lord Reading himself passed from chairmanship of the Council to Colonel commanding the depot. Unhappily, in the spring of disaster which followed, English humanity, like the British Army, was in temporary retreat; the Camp had to be evacuated, and those who had not been enlisted in the Pioneer Corps were interned in the Isle of Man.

Work for the Camp took me to Berlin and Vienna

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again, and gave me the last impressions of the dissolution of the Jewish communities before the final doom of the War. I was in Berlin in February, when the material destruction done in November, 1939, on "the day of broken glass" was still visible. The city, in which streets were being pulled down on all sides and new avenues cut through the main thoroughfares, typified the destruction of the old order. A new "axis" revolutionized the town as well as European politics. Jewish economic activity had been completely brought to an end, Jewish businesses, whether wholesale or retail, had ceased; Jewish industries were confiscated or closed; Jews were debarred from any liberal profession, save for an insignificant remnant of doctors and lawyers working on sufferance amongst their own people. The last big Jewish store in Berlin, Israel, had been "Aryanized", and all Jewish employees were dismissed.

The only activity or business allowed to the community was concerned with emigration. Over a hundred thousand Jews, about one-third of the Jewish population in the Altreich, remained in Berlin; the proportion in the capital was increased, because life was not only intolerable but impossible for Jews in villages and smaller towns. During 1938 the synagogues of over 300 congregations were closed. The Communal Institutions were closing, one after the other; but the Reichvertretung maintained to the end the schools and training centres for the young. The communal newspaper, the *Rundschau*, which had steadfastly played its part of providing the community with news of Jewry in the rest of the world, and of bringing grains of spiritual comfort, was suspended. The only authorized journal contained merely official announcements and advertisements for passages. Yet withal, the Central Organization, after being suspended for weeks when the leaders were thrown into concentration camps, maintained its direction and its courage. It collected a larger contribution for communal purposes than in any previous period, and liquidated the endowments

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of Jewish charities to provide means for emigration. Our Camp, a great hope, received two names, "Purgatory," the place of suspense before the transit to Heaven, and "Anglo-Saxon-hausen", in contrast with the concentration camp at Sachsenhausen. Though not completely relegated to a physical ghetto, the Jews were squeezed out of their houses ; and immovable property which they owned was transferred to "Aryans". A Siegfried line of fortresses and obstacles, constructed by the departments of taxation and confiscation, had to be forced by every emigrant ; and, of course, nothing of intrinsic value, save clothing, could be taken out.

The Jewish remnant, young and old, Orthodox and assimilated, accepted the necessity of the exodus. One of the civilizing elements in Germany, and indeed in Europe, which had made its contribution not only to the economic life but to philosophy, philanthropy, the sciences, and above all, to the arts, was eliminated. What was needed for any human execution of the policy was relaxation of the pace by the German Government, and acceleration by the other Governments. It was not to be ; and when the iron wall of war was raised between us and Germany, 200,000 men and women, largely past middle-age, were left to be crushed to dust. It was some consolation that less than 50,000 were under forty years of age.

My last visit to Vienna was in the middle of August. The ruin was still more complete in Austria than in the Altreich. It was just over a year since I had been in the doomed town, and the destruction of the community had been carried through. The population of confessional Jews, which was in April, 1938, 165,000, had fallen to 65,000 ; the population in the provinces during the same period from 15,000 to 370. In the Burgenland, where Jews were settled for centuries, five remained out of 3,500. During the year the exodus amounted to 110,000, deaths to 5,000. The death-rate was four times that of 1937, and a considerable part was due to suicide. The

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livelihood of all had been taken away. Every Jewish shop or business was aryanized, destroyed, or shut. The sign "Arisch" was no longer displayed because superfluous. But pathetically, in the office of the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde in the old Jewry, one door bore that inscription; the Christian tenant of a flat had chosen to remain. The one synagogue which was not destroyed or violated, in the Seitenstettengasse, was turned to a communal office; by order Jews were not to pray, but to leave. The communal officers had to register a change of name of every Jewish male and female by adding Israel or Sarah.

The poverty and destitution of the remnant were heart-rending. Two-thirds of those in Vienna were fed daily by communal soup kitchens. Thousands more of the old, infirm, and children were maintained by the community in the sadly bare and gaunt charitable buildings which remained to it. The hapless people could not even enjoy God's air. It was an offence to enter a public park or garden, or to sit on a bench in the Ring. One small open space was nominally reserved for them, but it was not safe to enter. Any bathing-place, any form of entertainment was prohibited. Their cemetery in which Bialik, the Hebrew poet, was buried was not inviolate; the hall of the burial ceremony was blown to pieces. Their library and famous collections of manuscripts were confiscated. The principal religious school was burnt down. They were threatened with the closing of their elementary schools.

During that last visit to Vienna I had an interview with the head of the Gestapo, who had carried through for a year the policy of Jewish expulsion and was executing it to the bitter end. He himself was born in Sarona, one of the German "Temple" Colonies in Palestine; and Zionism, he declared, was the only rational solution of the Jewish question. I had met him in 1938 when he was the second man, and on that occasion he was overbearing. This time, lodged in the former Rothschild

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Palace, which was the headquarters of the Emigration Office, he was surer of himself, courteous, but inflexible. Austria was not covered by any agreement ; for special military reasons it must be Judenrein by the end of the year, except for a few thousand old or invalid persons who would be allowed to live in asylums and maintained by the remains of charitable endowments. When we visited, Vienna in 1924, a comedy, "Wien ohne Juden," was being played ; now the tragedy was enacted in real life.

The one engrossing activity was the preparation to emigrate. During the year nearly 50,000 had passed through classes of retraining, which embraced a hundred different branches of manual or domestic work. Classes for bar-mixers and for "butlers" were attended by lawyers, doctors, and industrialists. The young women and girls were turned into cooks and housemaids and "generals", in intensive courses of from three weeks to six weeks. I visited a half-dozen farms for training young men and women to agriculture. They had been "aryanized" like all other Jewish property, and the "Aryan" sequestrator was there ; but they, and workshops which had been confiscated, were 'generously' leased by the Government to the Jewish community for training the youth, on condition that the ordinary and special taxes were paid by the lessees.

The greater part of the children had got away. The Vienna Jews repeated a hard saying about the breaking-up of the families. "From children—letters ; from parents—pictures ; from houses—removal vans (lifts) ; from property—certificates." The most painful of the sights of misery on which I gazed were the homes for the old people left to face a stark existence, their children and grandchildren exiled, living on charity and bereft of hope.

I went from Vienna to Paris where, during the last week of August, a gathering of the multifarious refugee organizations was planned to survey the position and consider new measures of emigration in preparation for

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another conference convened by the President of the United States. The representatives of Jewish bodies in every European country, including the heads of organizations in the stricken lands, Germany, Austria, Bohemia, and Slovakia, of the United States and South American countries, and Shanghai presented their tale of woe or need. For a long hot summer's day we listened to these reports till our senses were numbed. The atmosphere was already ominous. The next morning the newspapers published the German pact with Soviet Russia. That brought us face to face with stark reality. Mr. Myron Taylor, who was in Paris preparing for the meeting of the Intergovernmental Executive Committee, came to give us a word of sympathy and solace. Sympathy he could give, but the circumstances denied hope. We went through the sessions to the futile end, drawing up a memorandum for the Governmental Conference which, if the almost inevitable happened, must be in vain. In the way of tired gatherings we could not, as a group, adjust ourselves at once to what was now essential, though each privately recognized that the work of moving men, women, and children from the countries of barbarity to the countries of decency would not go on. We had reached the end of the chapter of palliatives ; and most of us apprehended that we were entering a chapter of extermination in which individually and collectively we were helpless.

My wife and I lunched that day with Louise Weiss, the editor of *L'Europe Nouvelle*, and our talk was principally of the extreme example of L'Audace, which was given by the Communist *Humanité*, proclaiming the Soviet Pact as a resounding triumph for peace and justice. It is the trivial things which agitate at the crises of history ; but the quiet resolution of the French was impressive ; and it was helped by the absence of newspaper placards. Providence is more far-seeing than any human assembly, but we could see no way of saving the remnant in the Reich. On the morrow, after drawing up a

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memorandum, we parted to our countries. The heads of the Jewish communities of Germany and Austria went back to their prison-house from which there would now be no exit. My wife and I returned to England, and at Dover found a half-dozen men from the Richborough Camp who had come to meet another batch from Germany. In that last week on the edge of the abyss some hundreds of men and women were saved from the inferno. But the cause of the refugees, which had moved the public interest for a year, was at once submerged.

Paris was celebrating the 150th anniversary of the French Revolution which gave to the Jews of Western Europe the rights of man. Now those rights were trampled under foot, not only for the Jews of half Europe, but for any race that was not Nordic. The battle for liberty and civil equality had to be fought again. It is the bitterest of the reflections on that week of suspense that, within a year, not only should France be ground under the iron heel, but her Government repudiated the principles of her Revolution, and gave up the struggle.

The Zionist Congress was meeting at the same time in Geneva. For days the delegates had been complaining against the British Government over the betrayal of the Balfour Declaration and the trust of the Mandate. They, too, were suddenly brought face to face with grim reality by the news from Moscow. Dr. Weizmann leapt to the heart of the situation, and closed the Congress with a solemn declaration that the Jews would forget what complaints they had against the Government, and would stand unanimously and whole-heartedly with the democracies in the fight for freedom. I had no part in that Zionist Congress. I was exiled, as it were, for my heresies about partition and about pursuit of understanding with the Arabs. But now the cause of peace in Palestine, at least, was helped by the catastrophe. The prospect of war put an end almost at once to the brutal sub-war which had been waged between Arab and Jew.

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The World War of 1914 started on the 2,500th anniversary of the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem by the Babylonians. This war began as we entered on the year 5,700 of the Jewish calendar. The last years of the last century A.M. might seem to be a period of reaction and destruction, annihilating the achievements of Jewish rehabilitation in the hundred years which preceded. Jews faced a greater trial than any they had known in modern times. Not only were they the helpless victims of Nazi cruelty in one country after another, but their traditions and faith were the object of the most virulent attack and world-wide propaganda. The Jewish conspiracy was an absurd figment ; the anti-Jewish conspiracy of the Nazis was a brutal reality. Yet they entered the new era a stronger and more united people than they had been twenty-five years before, and conscious of a revival of their creative powers.

CHAPTER XII

THE REFUGEE TRAIL. III

EXCURSIONS OVERSEAS

1936-1938

PALESTINE linked us to a continent : the refugees beckoned overseas. My wife and I paid a second visit to America in the summer of 1936, by way of Canada ; and in the summer of 1938 we went out to Australia. From there I made a devious return, flying from Sydney to Alexandria, and thence to South Africa, and back via Rhodesia to England. These excursions, partly in connection with the settlement of refugees, gave us a bird's-eye view of the general life and the Jewish life in three British Dominions.

The particular purpose of my visit to the United States was to gather material for a biography of Solomon Schechter. I had wanted to have a part in writing the life of one whom I revered. Circumstances gave me the task of writing it myself, and as my personal contact with him had been almost entirely in England, I wished to gather impressions from his friends in America, where he passed his last thirteen years. We crossed on a Canadian-Pacific liner, which was taking back hundreds of Canadian ex-soldiers, veterans of the Great War, and part of 6,000 members of a pilgrimage to Vimy Ridge, where a monument to that desperate struggle was unveiled by the King. They had crossed the Atlantic in one big convoy ; but, like the warriors at the end of the Trojan wars, they were distributed on their return. A contingent was on our boat, middle-aged men and their wives, the men shorter of wind and rounder of girth, " twenty years after," than the soldiers who stormed Vimy. They had faded, misty eyes, and a general air of disappointment and lack of enthusiasm ; but some

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could give simple graphic accounts of what took place on the Ridge as they saw it, telling of their own part in the action. It was unsensational but a better picture than a war-book gives, because they were telling, not analysing, recounting actions and not reactions. Many were from Scotland and kept their Scottish patriotism in a country where multiple loyalties are encouraged. We were entertained nightly by pipers from one of the Provinces, and were reminded of a remark of Lord Samuel when, revisiting Palestine, he stayed with Sir Arthur Wauchope who had pipers to entertain his guests. His host, describing a pained look, turned and said : "I fear you find the pipers boring." "No, not boring, but penetrating."

The pilgrims carried their Canadian hearts on their hats : for the headdress of male and female was the "berry" with the maple leaf. They consisted of persons who in the ordinary way did not engage in ocean travel ; they had been guests for a week of the French Government, and guests of our King at Buckingham Palace. The pilgrimage was the one adventure of their lives since the War ; and the Royal Garden Party, although it had been a day of drizzling rain, was the high-spot of the adventure. The British Canadian is enthusiastically royalist and the King is a living bond of Empire among all classes. Yet many of the men expressed doubt whether Canada would stand side by side with England in another European war. The outcome of the last World War seemed futile to them, and their own peace and security were assured by their relations with their American neighbour. That their vast country, however, with an area bigger than the United States and a population little bigger than that of Greater London, could not stand outside the struggle for the civilization of the British and French peoples was proved when the call came.

At that time, and since, Canada made too small a contribution to the problem of our refugees. The feeling

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of detachment from Europe, which was strong in a section of her gentile people, was strong also in a section of her Jews, reproducing, as our way is, the outlook of their environment. The position was rendered difficult because in the French-speaking and Roman Catholic Province of Quebec, a virulent anti-Semitic campaign had stronger hold than in any other part of the British realm. We appreciated the motive for it as we sailed up the St. Lawrence for two days to Montreal. Every village and town along the beautiful waterway was dominated physically by its churches and convents; morally by the churches and the priests. The French-Canadian has in many aspects the outlook of the French Catholic before the Revolution and before the Declaration of the rights of man; and he is opposed to the immigration of the Jew, not only for economic reasons, but because the Jew is not a Christian.

The Jewish community on its part has not hitherto been organized solidly for its defence and for mutual help. The Jewry of Canada is a much smaller proportion of the population than the Jewry of the United States: 130,000 in 10,000,000, as against 4,500,000 in 120,000,000; and they look for leadership to the American Jewish bodies. They have not given to the British Commonwealth any outstanding man, whether in statesmanship, literature, or art, or any big leader in Jewish life and thought.

Our month in the United States was more tranquil than our previous stay, and most of the time we were at the Warburg's country home. The country was preparing for the Presidential election, and the towns were festooned with streamers of slogans. The Press encouraged the idea that Roosevelt would be defeated; but their power of suggestion or their prescience was faulty. I made an excursion from New York to the University in Appleton, Wisconsin, to address an Institute of Human Relations, which was promoted by the Society of Jews and Christians, and had as its purpose

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to bring about better understanding between the communities. I talked about the position in Palestine, particularly the relations between Jews and Arabs. Nowhere else but in the United States can you have a gathering where persons of all classes and sections meet deliberately for the purpose of better inter-denominational understanding, listening for weeks to lectures and forming study circles in order to get rid of prejudices. I enjoyed the flight across half the continent. Starting from Cape Cod, where I visited Schechter's colleague, Dr. Cyrus Adler, I took the pedestrian train to Boston, flew from there to New York, from New York to Chicago, and from Chicago to my destination in the one day. From Appleton I was driven to an Indian Reserve. America, in her vast spaces, offers the same contrast as Palestine in her tiny spaces between the simple patriarchal society and the medley of the modern intelligentsia.

On the evening before we sailed I broadcasted from New York about Palestine, and had the next morning a friendly letter from the head of the Arab Association. He came with a few Arab friends to the *Queen Mary* for a talk before we sailed. The Americanized Arabs were anxious to find a basis of understanding and co-operation with the Jews ; and a young Palestinian Arab, who was on the ship with us returning to Cambridge University, had the same inclination. Young Jewry has not cultivated enough the field of friendly relations with the Arab youth who come to England and America, and cannot help being influenced by the liberal ideas around them.

Our journey to Australia had three motives : I was a delegate of the Royal Institute of International Affairs to the Commonwealth Relations Conference at Sydney. I was to use the opportunity to meet the Government

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authorities and the refugee organizations, and to persuade them to enlarge the possibilities of immigration. Lastly I wished to address the Jewish communities about our University in Jerusalem, in which hitherto they had taken a very slender interest. The Conference was the second of the kind, and comprised delegates of Great Britain and of the self-governing Dominions, including this time Ireland, and also, in anticipation of self-government, India. The former Conference had been held at Toronto in 1933, when the League of Nations afforded a firm pivot of the foreign policy of the whole Commonwealth. This time the meeting took place in circumstances which were tense and difficult before it assembled, and almost reached the breaking-point during its session. It was clear from the preparatory studies that had been received from the participant groups in the Dominions that great uncertainty and difference of opinion existed about foreign policy.

The major part of the British delegation travelled by way of Ireland, Canada, and New Zealand to Sydney, picking up the delegations of the Dominions *en route*. We could not accompany them because of the aftermath of the Evian Conference ; and we sailed on the P. & O. by the more hackneyed route of Suez, Bombay, Colombo to Perth.—Is not the “Peninsular and Oriental” in its name, as also in its class distinctions, typical of British Conservatism?—That way had its compensations from the point of view of Jewish interest. I could make the acquaintance of the communities in Aden and Bombay and, when we reached the Antipodes, of the communities in Perth and Adelaide.

We happened to touch Aden on the 9th day of Ab, the anniversary of the destruction of Jerusalem ; and the Jewish congregations were gathered in their synagogues in the Crater. It was a large community, some 10,000, most of them from the Yemen, who had found a haven under British rule from the age-long serfdom to which they were subjected in their native

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land. They were sadly leaderless. One family of Messa which was wealthy had for a generation controlled their life and provided synagogues, schools, hospital. The head of the family had died ; the descendants left Aden, and embarked on protracted litigation over the will. No Rabbi commanded any spiritual hold, and no layman had stepped into the breach. I found, too, an apprehension of Arab attack because the troubles in Palestine had affected their relations with their Arab neighbours. I spoke with the Governor about their needs and apprehensions, and had a sympathetic enough response. A large Jewish community in an important British outpost, which has been held for 100 years, was almost utterly neglected by British Jewry. The cultural emancipation of Oriental Jewry, started by English and French Jews 100 years ago, as a complement to their own struggle for political equality, has not kept pace with the political emancipation. The Aden community was a living example of Jewish homelessness. The one ray of light was the coming of an enthusiastic Palestine teacher, a German doctor and a German dentist. Palestinian and German Jews are to-day the carriers of Jewish and general culture to the dispersion.

At Bombay a group of refugees and of young Jews from Palestine awaited us at the quay. A few hundred emigrants from Germany and a few score from Palestine were leavening the lump of the Bombay community which numbered some 10,000, more than half being a native Jewish caste of the B'nai Israel, who were in great part workers in the mills. A few rich families, Sassoon, Ezra, and Nissim dominated the congregation materially. But there was the same glaring gap between them and the general body of the congregation, as between the splendour and luxury of the clubs and the villas on Malabar Hill, and the industrial slums of the city. A few hours' drive in Bombay was an instigation to Communism.

The Palestinian leaven was active in its journalistic

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endeavour, and responsible for two papers ; one devoted entirely to Palestine and the other with a strong Palestinian note. Neither, however, had penetrated the aloofness of the magnates. The scattered Jewish "factories" in the Indian Ocean bear the Phoenician rather than the Hebraic character. They are groups of merchants, petty traders, and hand-workers, which Palestinian Jewry, both a magnetic and radiating force, is slowly beginning to Hebraize.

At Colombo we were entertained by the Principal of the University College, who had been in Palestine during the War and kept an interest in its development. I broadcast on Palestine and had to answer the local journalists. The flow through the port of refugees from Germany, on their way to Australia and Shanghai, had aroused a lively interest in the Jewish people, and started wild projects of land settlement in the island. In practice all that had happened was that several doctors from Germany had found asylum ; one was the municipal analyst, another had become the leading dentist. We took on board a German woman teacher who was going to Australia to a nursery school. The seeds flung from Central Europe were fertilizing many soils in the two hemispheres, just as the seeds flung out from Spain and Portugal in the fifteenth and sixteenth century fertilized countries in the Old World and the New.

We took on board at Colombo also the head of the Indian delegation to the Commonwealth Relations Conference. He was a Brahmin, Pundit Kunsru, the head of the Society of the Servants of India, and the successor in that office of Sastri and Gokale. The Servants are a kind of lay monastic order, devoted to the service of the Indian people, working in political and social activities. They are most severely selected, and numbered then between thirty and forty in a population of 400 millions. Kunsru, who was a member of the Council of State, was vigorously critical of the Government of India ; and at the Conference he was to prove

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himself an invincible dialectician. The burning grievance which he and his three colleagues, two Moslems and one Hindu, voiced at the meetings, was the inequality of Indians in the family. The utter discrimination against them in Australia and South Africa, where they themselves would have been unwanted aliens, could not be defended on any ethical or equitable grounds ; and the confrontation of the other Dominion representatives with Indian spokesmen was bound to have some effect. Kunsru and his colleagues were critical also of our administration in Palestine. Ardent in their own new-born nationalism, they were hard on Jewish nationalism. For, in their eyes, the Jews coming to Palestine represent another Western aggression on the Orient.

We reached Fremantle after twenty-three days' voyage from Marseilles, and there abandoned our ship. One amusing feature of the voyage was the posting of the contribution to seamen's charities from the daily sweepstake and other sources. The notice board afforded a delightful mixture of religion and betting.

	£	s.	d.
From Totalizator	.	1	10 0
From Divine Service	.	15	0
From Dog-Racing	.	18	0

In our three days at Perth, built like Tel Aviv on sand, we saw something both of the Jewish and the political society. The Jewish community flourished. Perth, perhaps because it is the first port of call, has attracted a contingent from Palestine which reinvigorated the congregation, and one of its leaders was Colonel Margolin, who commanded one of the Jewish battalions. Australia aims at being the melting-pot. In this spirit the established Jewish families intermarry freely with Gentiles, as Protestants intermarry freely with Roman Catholics ; but the Palestine import renews the Jewish consciousness. It is a sign of Jewish equality in the civic life that the lovely woodland park of Perth contains a monument to the Australian Jewish soldiers who fell in the World

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War. It was another reflection of the Jewish part in Australian life that the name "Cobber", which they give to the settler in the Bush, is derived from the Hebrew "chaber", meaning comrade¹; and the popular word for "drunk" is the Hebraic "shikered".

I was taken to their University, which is remarkable for the development of its extramural activities, as is appropriate in a State with an area of nearly one million square miles, and a rural population of 300,000. The system of sending out boxes of books and notes on all manner of modern subjects, philosophy, music, art, history, to organized study-groups in the outlying parts is a model. The building of the University in the Spanish style, set in its park of 300 acres, is also a model. It is the benefaction of one man who was a proprietor of the principal newspaper of the State; nowhere, not even in America, is the University so visible a centre of the State's intellectual life as in Australia.

I talked with the Premier and members of the Labour Government—including Mr. Curtin—about plans of a group settlement of refugees on the land. But they were not very hopeful. The Labour Party in Australia are steadfastly Conservative, more isolationist than other Australians, which says a good deal. The Party interest in the maintenance of the high standard of life for the Australian workmen makes them static in a dynamic world. There are 1,000 acres of public land for every citizen of Westralia; but no capital and no people to occupy. The half-empty country cries out for wholesale immigration; and the action of the Government limits entry rigidly to retail human imports. Schemes were mooted for a refugee territory in an empty corner of the Kimberleys, in the north-western part of the State. But at that time the authorities showed them no favour. We drove to the original Fairbridge Farm School at Pinjara, which is the pride of the State, and the single

¹ The famous Jesuit missionary, Xavier, had his name from the same Hebrew word.

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instrument for bringing English boys and girls to the vast spaces. It seemed admirably run and almost extravagantly equipped ; but, when all is said and done, the training of a few hundred boys and girls from Great Britain is a small contribution to the needs of a continent of over three million square miles and less than six million inhabitants. The Jewish Youth immigration movement, which has brought to Palestine in the last six years 8,000 boys and girls and placed them on the land, is big in comparison, and marks the difference between a people's and an individual's enterprise.

From Perth we flew to Adelaide, doing in six hours the journey of 1,400 miles which the express train does in fifty. The Nullarbor waste cuts off Westralia from the rest of the Commonwealth. We came down at one town only, Calgoorlie ; and there a little Jewish group met us, almost all from Eastern Europe, eager to hear about Palestine. At Adelaide the community was less lively than at Perth ; it was declining in numbers as the other increased. A few Jews had a signal part in the development of the South Australian State. One of the Montefiore family was amongst the original settlers of Adelaide ; and a family of Solomon has been eminent for three generations in the commercial, civic, and intellectual life. The lead and what ardour there is have passed from these Australian families to later arrivals from Central Europe, who have become doctors, lawyers, and the like. But the Jew with the biggest heart and the most generous response for the refugee cause was thoroughly Australianized, and devoted to horse-racing which, with cricket, is the ruling passion. The Government there was more responsive than that of Western Australia to proposals for a group settlement of refugees on the land. The State in its early history absorbed hundreds of German settlers who came out to the sheep-farms, and now form German townships. But to-day it is absurdly difficult, in a country which has been made safe for sheep—like England in the Middle Ages—to

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obtain cultivable State land for any group. Another glaring contrast with Palestine was marked ; the area acquired by the Jews in the National Home since the mandate was given is less than the area of two normal sheep-farms (200,000 acres) ; and the Jews have made a home in that area for at least 100,000 persons.

From Adelaide to Melbourne by train ; and three days in that spacious and intellectually eager city before going to Sydney for the Conference. We found a lively Jewish community, but more than usually divided in itself. The cleavage is not only between Australian and foreign Jews ; Zionists and non-Zionists, Orthodox and Reform ; the young generation knocking at the door against the old guard, every difference is accentuated. The community of Melbourne has given to Australia several outstanding citizens, General Monash and Sir Isaac Isaacs, the first Australian Governor-General ; and at the time of our visit Colonel Harold Cohen was a force in the political, commercial, and legal activities. Curiously, the one department of public life in which the Jews have hitherto not shone in the Commonwealth is the academic. They gave to England Professor Alexander, of Manchester, the philosopher, and Joseph Jacobs, the versatile worker in the field of Jewish history and literature. But they have made no equal cultural contribution in their own land.

Sir Isaac Isaacs had been in Jerusalem and was genuinely interested in our University, though inflexibly opposed to the Zionist idea, and unwilling to accept the conception that Jews are a nationality as well as a religious community. The University, however, was in his eyes above national considerations. Engrossed himself since his retirement in the study of literature about the relations of Judaism and Christianity, he wanted it to work out the relations of the Old and the New Testament, to fill in that blank page between the two in our Bibles.

Harold Cohen, a former State Minister, took us over

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the Parliament House which, like other State buildings in Melbourne, reflected the less happy period of Victorian architecture. The faithful imitation of the ceremony of our House of Commons and of the architecture of our Chamber, the ushers in evening dress, the clerks in wigs, the "Hansard" reporters in their boxes, is contrasted with a free-and-easiness of manner of the members in and out of debate, and the accessibility of Ministers to any visitor. The reproduction of our Constitution and of the procedure of our legislation throughout the British Commonwealth is one of the strong links.

We did half the journey from Melbourne to Sydney in the air-conditioned, streamlined all-steel train, "The Spirit of Progress," which is the pride of Victoria; and the second, New South Wales half, from Albury, in less magnificence. The trans-shipment at midnight is an uncomfortable survival of the pre-Federal policies which still impair Australian unity.

All the delegations for the Conference were gathered, and the proceedings opened ceremoniously on the day after our arrival in the Great Hall of the University. It was impressed on us that the University is the centre of culture in every Australian State, and the Professor plays an important part in public life, particularly in the economic development. We were welcomed by the Roman Catholic Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, Mr. Lyons. The clouds in Europe were rolling up fast in the thunderstorm over Czechoslovakia; and the feature of his address was a call to prayer of all communities to seek divine help and guidance in the conduct of international affairs. His speech had a Hebraic note: and we were reminded that, as in Bible times, God visited the follies and sins of a generation promptly on the next.

The delegates moved out for two weeks to a country hotel, set in the lower ridges of the Blue Mountains, which boasted a million acre view; and did justice to the advertisement. Our discussions were regulated with an iron discipline. The opener of the subject was allowed

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a quarter-hour, and every succeeding speaker in the discussion two minutes ; thirty seconds before the end of his time a disconcerting yellow light appeared, and at the end a red light before which the most eloquent quailed. The technique of compressing ideas, and then finding the moment for rising for another two minutes was cultivated. It would be a boon were it adapted to Zionist and refugee conferences.

The delegations, though not official, contained persons of position in the different parts of the Commonwealth, and representatives of many sides of life. The head of the English delegation was Lord Lothian, aristocrat of the mind and of democracy ; the most powerful of the team was Ernest Bevin, who spoke always as if he had behind him a large section of the British people, whereas the rest were just speaking for themselves. Other members were Sir Alfred Zimmern, unfailingly ready and masterly in debate ; Sir John Pratt, who had inside knowledge about the Far East but gave away only open secrets ; General Burnett-Stewart and Admiral Sir Howard Kelly, who were technical advisers ; Lionel Curtis who, as the father of all the institutions of international affairs, commanded paternal affection ; Captain Victor Cazalet, M.P., who had romantic enthusiasms ; a doughty Scotch Labour M.P., James Walker ; one woman, Miss Grace Hadow, who conducted a meeting from the chair more skilfully than any man ; and Professor Hancock, who, Australian-born and bred, embodied in himself the excellences of Australian openness and British breadth. Australia, naturally, had a large representation, mainly professors ; but its head was a veteran internationalist and former attorney-general of Victoria, Mr. Eggleston ; while the chairman of the Conference was a former State Premier and a High Court Judge, Sir Thomas Bavin, both of them lawyers of large outlook and an old world courtesy. The Canadian delegation contained a still larger proportion of professors who were dubbed "pink" for their

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leftish outlook. South Africa's six members represented six definite political opinions. The chairman of their delegation, Major Van der Byl—a Cambridge rowing Blue of my day—was an Imperialist Dutchman; Dr. Geyer, an extreme nationalist Dutchman; Colonel Stallard, the exponent of the British minority; Professor Hoernle, of German origin, an outspoken liberal; and the cementing element was found in their Jewish Secretary, Professor Frankel, of the University of Witwatersrand. New Zealand had its strong Socialists, and a few strong Imperialists. The Irish team of four included two orators whose voices could fire or soothe as they pleased; Mr. O'Sullivan, their chairman, and Mr. Dillon, son of the Parliamentary Home Rule leader.

The diversity of feeling and outlook in the delegations was expressed in a rag song, which was sung to the tune of Widdicombe Fair :—

And what will you do with fair Canada ?
The Yanks'll take that, and label it Ca.
And what is the fate of bonnie New Zealand ?
Give it to Russia, and call it New Dealand.
And how will you keep Africa on your hands ?
We'll get the King Emp'ror to learn Afrikaans.

Yet the Commonwealth has a supernational feeling which holds it together. During the two weeks of the sittings the situation in Europe grew rapidly more critical. The Berchtesgaden meeting came before, the Godesberg débacle immediately after, we had separated. The studies so carefully prepared about foreign policy of the Commonwealth and common economic measures were suddenly deprived of their seriousness. We were riding on the rim of the abyss; and events were in the saddle.

I made several excursions to Sydney to talk with the Jewish bodies about the reception of refugees, and to address them about the University of Jerusalem. The Jewish life was better knit, though culturally less lively than in Melbourne. Women played a most active part in it as in America; and in its manners and Jewish

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outlook Australian Jewry was nearer to the United States than to England. The Christian bodies were bafflingly inert. The religious appeal had lost its emotion, and the Anglican leaders, mostly drawn from the Mother Country, exercised nothing like the same influence over the general community as the big churchmen or the leading Nonconformists in England.

From Sydney we drove to Canberra. We were there for the beginning of the week of blossom, and revelled in the beauty of the approach to the Country Club Capital and of its parkways. Growing from outwards inwards, it was unlike any town we had seen, full of future, but not much present; a planned city without planned citizens. Our three days there coincided with the beginning of the last phase of the crisis; and it was hard, and always must be hard, in that atmosphere of tranquil beauty to form a picture of the agony of Europe.

We returned to Melbourne where, with other British delegates, I was to receive an honorary degree from the University. We unmade and remade plans for the return journey, having decided first that war was not to be averted, and then with shame realizing that it had been averted ignobly.

It was not until we returned to England in November that we could picture the turmoil of that week. One petty incident threw light on our unpreparedness. Driving round St. James's Park with two of the heads of the Jewish organization in Germany I pointed out to them the trenches which had been dug. They looked, and one turned to the other, whispering: "schrecklicher Dilettantismus."

I stayed in Melbourne to initiate a campaign of the Jewish and non-Jewish bodies on behalf of the refugees. Representatives of the Jewish communities in all the States came together to a Conference; and it was another reflection of the separateness of Australian States that this was the first occasion when the Jewish congregations had consulted about a common policy

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on any matter except Palestine. Flying back to Sydney, I had sight of the two snow mountains, Kosciusko and Buffalo, which rise uncannily white in a land of sun and colour, and suggest by their names a world outlook that the Australians had not sustained since the end of the exploration age.

We flew home from Sydney, and broke our journey after the first hop at Brisbane. There we found friends in the Labour Party which had been in office for years, and was guided in its economic programme by Colin Clarke from England. Discussing the development of Australia, Clarke pointed out that less than one-fifth of its population is engaged in primary production ; and that in any country where more than a quarter was so engaged, it was a sign of extreme poverty. The main occupations of to-day in developed countries are the tertiary industries, which provide for commercial, intellectual, and cultural development. Half the earning population of England and the United States are occupied in the professions and these services ; and the tendency in Australia was for their rapid extension. It is in these industries that the Jews everywhere, and the refugees in particular, are prominent. There should be then room for their absorption ; and the Labour premier was encouraging about small-scale infiltration. We dined with the Archbishop of Brisbane with whom Lionel Curtis was staying ; and they engaged in a discussion on the question whether, if Jesus was living to-day, he would have called the Kingdom of God Empire or Commonwealth.

I was struck by the places of worship of different religious denominations around the synagogue : a Greek Orthodox Temple, a Danish Church, a Christadelphian Chapel. The State of Queensland has attracted many religious and ethnic elements. It is only in the last period that Australia has fostered the craving of homogeneity, and boasted that 95 per cent of its citizens are British-born. My wife remarked to one of the Labour

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leaders that, if the previous generation had adopted the policy which this generation of the Labour party adopts, they themselves would not be in Australia.

We had a day's excursion from Brisbane into the Bush to see the Somerset Dam, a constructive enterprise of the Labour Government, designed to employ some thousands of unemployed workers, and conducted with a thoroughly paternal—almost excessive—regard for the well-being of the men. The work invited comparison with the Jordan Hydro-Electric enterprise of Rutenberg, but the care for the workers exceeded even his standards. We passed through the coal-mining area of Queensland, which recalled, in its appearance as well as its names, the mining towns of South Wales. And we had a final view of the largest municipal area in the world from the height of Mount Nebo, of which the name testified to Bible memories of early settlers.

From Brisbane we flew to Townsville ; thence the next day to Darwin, crossing two thousand miles of empty spaces. All that day we were flying over no-man's-land and no-man's-sea. Salt flats and bush unbroken for hundreds of miles, and then the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, which resembled the wilderness to the south of the Dead Sea. The only habitations were Government telegraph and wireless posts and missionary stations. Missionaries have been pioneers of civilization in this empty region as in darkest Africa ; and the Empire flying-boats make some retribution by dropping letters and parcels for them. The change in their contact with the outer world is amazing ; formerly one ship would call in the year and deliver a mail, now they are visited by half a dozen flying-boats a week. The Northern Territory of over half a million square miles had in 1937 4,000 white inhabitants and 1,800 others. Darwin, the air-junction in the continent, has been revolutionized likewise by the coming of the air mail. Twenty planes or flying-boats, English, Dutch, and Australian, call each week ; and establish closer communication with the

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outside world than Australia's capital, Canberra, enjoys. Darwin has gathered an extraordinary medley of peoples. Its three thousand inhabitants include members of forty-three nations, Chinese and Japanese, half-castes and aborigines, British, German, Italian, and Russian and a few of our refugees. And in the last nine months it has received 2,000 visitors. The Administrator, who had fought in the Palestine campaign, believed that the neighbourhood offered a prospect of settlement for Jewish immigrants prepared for the pioneer life. For the growth of the town created a demand for fresh supplies in its own area. We were lodged for the night in a rest-house at the side of a gaunt pile of buildings, which was the relic of a million pounds meat-station erected before the last War and now derelict. But Darwin is fitting itself for a new destiny. It is what Port Said was fifty years ago, save that nature is more generous.

On the morrow we left the vast unfilled spaces of Australia, and flew to the crowded Isles of the Dutch Indies, over the lovely—in fine weather—Timor Sea, studded with jade beeches in golden rims. At each stopping-place the people in gay-coloured robes flocked to see us, gentle-folk in the literal sense of the term. Each island was more populated than the last, till at Surabaya in Java we touched one of the two big towns of the most densely populated region of the world. In the three million square miles of Australia there are less than six million inhabitants; in the fifty thousand square miles of Java, forty-two million. There the most extensive use of the soil for sheep-farming and cattle-rearing, here the most economic use and the most intensive cultivation of the earth's surface. There shacks and homesteads scattered in great solitudes; here Dutch towns and Javanese villages massed together in amazing proximity.

Surabaya, save for its brilliant light and its crowds of many colours and robes, might have been Rotterdam or the Hague. The Dutch carry their domestic art and

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culture to their Indies more completely than we take ours to India. We found Jewish friends in Surabaya, where the administration included Dutch and foreign Jews. I spoke about our University to a gathering composed largely of non-Jewish officials, who all understood English and were anxious to know everything about Palestine. I learnt of the part which Jews had played in the early Portuguese and Dutch settlements. One of the founders and first Governor of Batavia was a Coen who, like Columbus, was probably of a converted Jewish family. We had time, too, in our few hours to visit a fair on the outskirts of the town, like the Levant Fair of Tel Aviv in its exhibits ; but the illumination of the trees with fairy lamps, and the quiet masses moving and speaking softly were different. The streets at night have a peculiar beauty from the lamp-shades on the verandas where the families sit.

In Batavia also I spoke to an audience which included, besides officials, several Jews who had kith and kin in Palestine and a few German refugees. Zionism makes headway ; and the Java Zionists conduct a weekly paper devoted to Palestinian interests. Some of the Jews in the service were apprehensive about the position, because Nazi influence appeared to be gaining in the Netherlands. The shadow was falling even upon this sunny island. Our Jewish host, a doctor of the Government Hospital, was deeply impressed by the contribution which English academic society had made to help the exiled scientists from Germany. To him it was the noblest showing of the British people. Perhaps because he had married an "Aryan" wife, he was fearful that one day the ground might break beneath his feet.

We had one delightful day in the country with him, driving from the torrid heat of Batavia—which Captain Cook thought to be the unhealthiest of towns !—to the bracing freshness of the mountains 5,000 feet up, through terraces of rice-fields and groves of tea and rubber and all manner of plantations. We stopped on the way at

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Butenzorg, the seat of the Governor. The name, it was explained, is identical with Sans-souci ; and I recalled that Potsdam had a Dutch appearance, and the Sans-souci Palace of the Brandenburgs was modelled on the Dutch palaces which were then, and might be still, the design for royalty. The garden of the Residency, which was laid out first by our English Raffles during the Napoleonic Wars, when he governed the island, is an earthly paradise.

The Dutch colonies appeared to be more genuinely colonized than the British. On the one hand, the races intermingle freely, and the persons of mixed race have their full part in the Government without any social discrimination, such as Anglo-Indians suffer. On the other hand, the Dutch administrator families spend their life in the colony, build schools for the children, and regard it genuinely as their home. They are free from caste feeling and colour feeling ; and are utterly contrasted with the Dutch settlers in South Africa in their relations to natives of another race. How conventional these segregations are, even amongst British people, was pointed out by the captain of our flying-boat who said that in Hong Kong white and coloured are rigidly separated, while in Singapore they mix in the club.

Our next hop was to Singapore, where we stayed with Dr. Landor, the brother of the chatelaine of the Anglo-Jewish School in Jerusalem. What was a small fishing hamlet 120 years ago is now the greatest port in the East. We saw the sights, the law courts, the gardens, the Chinese town, the swimming-club, justified in its luxury by 3,000 members ; and I talked at the Y.M.C.A. about the Jerusalem University. Another Palestine friend was in the chair, General Dobbie,¹ who commanded the troops in Jerusalem in 1929 after the riots, and was now G.O.C. in the Straits Settlements. In every place he was the religious soldier. I tried to interest practically the Jewish community, which included three

¹ In 1940 he was Commander-in-Chief in Malta.

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elements ; Government officials, Oriental Jews, a few of them merchant magnates, and immigrants from Central and Western Europe with a sprinkling from Palestine. But I found that from those who have shall not be taken. Three of the highest Government posts were filled by Jewish civil servants who contrarily would have liked office in Palestine. The officials were critical of our administration in Palestine, and especially of our handling of the Moslem problems, the charitable endowments and the religious courts. In the Straits Settlements these are kept under firm control, while in Palestine we let them become nurseries of political agitation.

From Singapore we flew to Alexandria, without further break of journey save for the night stops. The first half-stage was to Penang, where the ugliness of the industrial town is set against the loveliness of the tropical shore. The flight over the Eastern seas shows the amazing enterprise of the Dutch in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and of the British peoples in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when they occupied these choice spots. The result has been an inequitable distribution of material goods amongst the European nations ; and the resentment of the have-not Powers. Our next day's stage should have been to Calcutta, but owing to a hitch we stopped at the Burmese port of Akyab. We had a 10-mile chugging in a river-boat to the town, and spent the night in a bare rest-house. But we had compensations for the missed luxury of the Eastern Hotel of Calcutta ; the glory of the sunset and sunrise over the lagoon, and the sight at night of a Burmese town with 40,000 native inhabitants. In air-travel Stevenson's saying holds : " It is better to travel hopefully than to arrive." Akyab, like Darwin, has come into the big world during the last years. Formerly it took a week to reach either Calcutta or Rangoon ; now the flying-boat takes you in three hours.

We made up for our lost stage on the morrow, and

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flew from Akyab to Karachi, 1,800 miles across India in the day. Calcutta was a good sight from the air, and its Maidan, which is a civic centre of a special kind, Government offices and sport combined, symbolizes the two aspects of the English Raj. Two of our alighting-places were sacred lakes. We were warned strictly against defiling the lakes with cigarette ends. It is a strange use of a shrine to be a fuelling base ; yet perhaps it is more reasonable to revere flying-boats than crocodiles. The flight next day from Karachi to Basra was both in its scenery and stopping-places more attractive ; for the desert seen from the air has more moods than the sown. We alighted at a lagoon in Baluchistan, where our boat was visited by the Khan of Kelat, splendid in his robes. Our next stopping-place was the Isle of Bahrein, famous for pearls and petrol, which American oil enterprise and a British Naval Station jointly have made amazingly prosperous. The Sheikh draws a subsidy from England and royalties from the American Corporation. Science, with air-conditioned rooms, has made living conditions tolerable where the thermometer registers 120 degrees in the shade. What the oil companies have done in the regions of oil-wells, other enterprise could do throughout the tropics.

At Basra the British Consul brought me in touch with the heads of the Jewish community. The Kehilla numbers 7,000, more than 10 per cent of the population, almost all of them Sephardim and engaged in commerce. It includes, however, one or two doctors and lawyers and a school of the Alliance Israélite, where Arabic is the main language, but the pupils learn also Hebrew, English, and French. The Basra community is within the jurisdiction, as it were, of the Sassoons, who are the lords bountiful of the Middle East. The head of the congregation who entertained me, the agent for Ford cars, had thrown off Sephardic lethargy and acquired an American alertness. He was on good terms with the Government ; the head of the garrison, together with

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the Chief of the Police, came to see him while I was talking, and he had to explain me away as an officer of the Air Force. Conditions were difficult for the Jews of Iraq because of Arab passions about Palestine. They had to subscribe to the Arab funds for the victims in Palestine, and were fearful of subscribing anything for Jewish purposes.

For the last day of the hop to Alexandria we had a succession of desert, cultivation, desert, and sea. In the first stage to the Lake Habbaniya, the country bordering the Shatt was a stretch of wasted opportunity. Scarcely any irrigation, old channels sanded up, the cultivation, outside the date-garden region, sketchy and primitive. Here was room for tens of thousands of cultivators, if only enterprise and capital could build on political goodwill. The Syrian Desert and the lava belt, as we approached the plateau of Bashan, were forbidding; but suddenly we were again flying over good land, with its criss-cross of the plough. The browns and blacks of the soil in the scarred country of Bashan looked more austere after the lusciousness of Java and Malay. We swooped down on the Sea of Galilee and taxied to Tiberias. The lake and all Palestine looked tiny as we took in the whole country from Mount Hermon almost to the Dead Sea; and the little white speck of the Rutenberg Power-house by Jisr-Majami, (the junction of the Rivers Yarmuk and Jordan), gleamed in the sun.

I tried in vain to telephone to Jerusalem. British troops were occupying the Old City in force, to round up rebel bands that had entered some days before; and civilian communication was cut off. In the last lap we flew over the Jewish corner of Galilee and Samaria, crossing the Upper Jordan Valley and Esdraelon, to the Plain of Sharon, and then out to sea. We could just distinguish Tel Aviv and Haifa. The whole region was as orderly and neat a piece of cultivation as anything in Java. But how ridiculously small for a State! The Royal Commission showed a strange lack of geographical

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as well as historical sense in the proposal of partition ; and the technical party, which had followed them in order to amplify the proposal, exposed its nakedness.

The Palestine paper announced, with intelligent anticipation, that the recommendations of the technical commission were rejected, and England would hold on to the Mandate for an undivided country.

At Alexandria—the crossways of the air world—we finished the first part of the flight from Australia ; coming down in a harbour crowded with the British Mediterranean Fleet. We met Wyndham Deedes who arrived by the flying-boat coming from England ; and with him I set out on the *Circe* the next morning southwards across Africa. We had an early hitch. The filling barge at Cairo fouled our boat, and our stay was protracted to six hours. That gave unexpected opportunity for us to see the British Cathedral, an imposing building erected when the British were about to withdraw politically from the country ; to gaze again on the treasures of the museum, and to wonder at the beauty of the goldsmith's work ; 4,000 years ago they buried their gold to better purpose than we to-day in our banks. And lastly, to get a glimpse of the Moslem Congress which was meeting to discuss Palestine. The representatives, men and women, were unofficial delegates from the Parliaments of the Moslem countries.

I ran into an old Jerusalem friend, Awneh Abdul-Hadi, exiled in Egypt, but cheery and friendly as of yore. The only solution of the trouble, he said, was Arab-Jewish friendship, abandonment of partition, abandonment of the Mandate. The Jews would win Arab confidence if they would restrict immigration for a period of years. The soft words did not conceal the absence of half-tones in the Semitic register of vision, which makes conciliation difficult. Yet basically I agreed.

We could not reach Khartoum, our night's destination, and came down in the dark at Wadi Halfa. I was struck by the Customs badge of the Sudan service, the Shield of

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David, which was devised by the first Director of Customs who was from Malta and of Jewish race. Another long stage the next day to make up, to Kisumu in Kenya, through the length of the Sudan and Uganda; and I crossed the equator for the second time within a week. We had contacts with Palestine on the way. At Port Bell on the Lake Victoria I rang up Max Nurock, formerly of the Secretariat in Jerusalem, and now Assistant Chief Secretary in Uganda. He pressed that we should break our journey and come to Entebbe on the way back, to interview the Governor about placing refugees. That good territory was commonly, but wrongly, associated with the offer of the British Government for a Jewish autonomous settlement in the early years of the century. It was part of present Kenya that Joseph Chamberlain offered; had it been accepted, it would have been a precious "Asyl" to-day.

At Kisumu a Palestine Jew from Rishon came up and reminded Deedes that he had served under him in the Intelligence during the War. He was representing in Kenya various industrial interests, and told us that several refugees from Germany had established themselves during the last year. One was the popular dentist of the place, another a mechanic, another a hairdresser. But the commerce of the town was mainly in the hands of Indians, and the Indian Mosque was the most prominent building. We heard of the agitation of the colony over the threat from Germany; and the next morning took on our flying-boat as far as Dar-es-Salaam a leader of the Legislative Council in Tanganyika who had been addressing meetings about a Defence Corps. East Africa and South Africa would stand together against the German peril in spite of their divergent outlooks. He denounced the burden on the Colonies of British officers with their high salaries and pensions, spending most of their money outside the country. The Government should be recruited from residents who would be identified with the country they administered.

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As we flew down the coast from Mombasa to Dar-es-Salaam and Zanzibar, it was brought home that all this coast had been settled by the Phoenicians, and later had been an Arab area and was still Arab-speaking. The name of Dar-es-Salaam (Dwelling of Peace) corresponded—at least according to the interpretation of my old love, Philo—with Jerusalem, the threshold of peace. The neatness of the towns and native villages and plantations in the former German East Africa made more glaring the waste and stagnation of Portuguese East Africa, over which we flew that day and the next. The Portuguese colony was thought by Milton to be the lost land of Ophir, from which King Solomon's ships brought gold and precious stones. Held by them for nearly 400 years, it is an abomination of desolation. Mixture with negro blood has produced a degenerate race without energy and without integrity. I was reminded that the plan of their conqueror, Albuquerque, to produce a martial race by making his warriors marry Indian women in Goa, had produced a people of cooks. We spent the night at Lumbo on the mainland, and opposite the Isle of Mozambique, once the chief depot for the trade of the Indies. It was the dulllest of our stations, and we lighted on neither Jew nor refugee.

We flew along the dreary, untenanted coast to Lorenzo Marques, stopping at Beira where the roadstead was full of shipping of many countries, and Indians again were much in evidence. The East African coast seems a natural outlet for the teeming population of Hindustan. From Lorenzo Marques we climbed in a Portuguese plane to Johannesburg, over the mountains of Swaziland; and had our first sight of the golden earth piles of the Rand, formed from the sunken mountains of gold, that surround the town like big ant-hills.

Our next ten days were spent in Johannesburg and the neighbourhood, addressing groups and mass meetings for a Refugee appeal; attending many parties and receiving many deputations. The Jews in South Africa, racially

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and nationally conscious, are generous to Jewish causes ; and their contribution for Palestine purposes is greater per head than that of any other Jewry. The enthusiasm for the National Home is the strongest Jewish bond. Nationalism is a religion, the synagogue itself becomes a Zionist Institution, and the community school, which is attached to the synagogue, is adorned with the Zionist colours, the portraits of Herzl and Bialik. The Liberal Jewish Congregations have not, as in America or England, Zionist inhibitions.

They are a prosperous community, engaged mainly in trade and the medical and legal professions, but with a considerable number of farmers and manual workers, and, what was more unexpected, owning and running many of the hotels and inns in dorps as well as towns. Their population of 100,000 is distributed over all parts of the Union. Adventurous Jews had played a not unimportant part in the early settlement of Portuguese, Dutch, and English. But the present community is derived largely from Lithuania, and inherits from that country of Talmudic colleges an abiding interest in Jewish culture. At the time of our visit they were not at ease in the South African Zion. The Union was rent with racial and national strife between white and black, white and coloured, Dutch and British, Dutch and Jew. Before the General Election at the beginning of the year, the Leader of the Opposition, the Afrikaner Nationalist, Dr. Malan, had directed a raging campaign against the Jews on lines which were tragically familiar in Europe. The Nazi doctrines of racial superiority found a ready acceptance in the Dutch, who experienced the sense of frustration in a country which they had been the first to colonize ; and the Jews were the first target. True, the former Government, under General Hertzog and General Smuts, won a big victory at the polls ; and the United African Party, which was in power, professed a policy of appeasement between the races, and set itself against the anti-Semitic agitation. It included

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stalwart Liberals like Smuts and Jan Hofmeyr, who were outspoken friends of Jews, and worked for co-operation between Jews and Christians. But in order to counter the more radical proposals of the Opposition, it had been compelled to pass an Aliens Act, narrowly restricting immigration, which kept out all but a few refugees ; and Jewry in South Africa was apprehensive of its position. The hope Olive Schreiner had voiced thirty years before, during the Russian persecution, that no man of whatever race and creed, flying from religious persecution, should fail to find a refuge, was belied.

While we were in the country, the centenary of the Great Trek of the Boers from the Cape Colony was celebrated. The Voor-trekker Wagons marched through the land, accompanied with bearded men and bonneted women. Wherever they came, Dutch nationalist meetings were held in order to excite racial and national feeling. Dutch pastors were fiery apostles of revengeful memories, thinking with their blood : and their Reform Church passed a resolution declaring that, while persecution of any section of the community was not countenanced by the church, where anti-Jewish movements are started for economic reasons, it was left to the conscience of the members to judge of the extent to which the movements are justified in the public interest.

To counter the anti-Semitic movements a society had been founded in the previous year of Jews and Christians, with the object of maintaining good neighbourly relations, and of spreading knowledge of the factors which led to friction.

We met its President, Father Runge, and we spoke at several meetings organized by the society, where the audience was largely Christian. The general racial uneasiness made the community of goodwill in South Africa aware that anti-Semites were the shock troops of Nazism, and were opposed not only to the Christian spirit but also to the unity of the country. Hofmeyr, Minister of Education and Social Welfare, had stressed

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at the first meeting of the Society that freedom and intolerance would not be reconciled, and that anti-Semitism was alien to all that South Africa held worth while. Dealing with the two causes of the agitation, the "otherness" of the Jew and the success of the Jew, he put in a plea for otherness which was the Jews' distinctive contribution to the common cause of the nation. Assimilability meant not a cultural likeness but a similarity in the common devotion and service to the country. As to Jewish success, the prosperity of one section of the community did not mean the impoverishment of another section, but the strengthening of the community as a whole. If the Jews had not come to South Africa, the country would be immeasurably poorer; if they were to be removed from South Africa, the shock would be irreparable.

Jews brought everywhere cheerful living, and they played a notable part in the cultural life. Among the best-known writers were Sarah Gertrude Millin, novelist and biographer of Rhodes and Smuts, and Manfred Nathan, paradoxically the popular historian of the Boer Treks. In the High Court of the Transvaal Mr. Justice Greenberg was the Presiding Judge: and one of his colleagues on the Bench, Mr. Justice Solomon, was a "non-Aryan", descended from a Jewish family of St. Helena which had given Africa statesmen and jurists—and a bishop. Professor Frankel, of the University of Johannesburg, was the leading economist: and so forth. At the University the Jews were over-represented, proportionately, as often, in the schools of law and medicine; but that was chiefly due to their exclusion from other professions. The blasts of envy were fanned by Jewish mining magnates, and particularly by the one powerful Jew of the Transvaal who controlled not only theatres and cinemas but also newspapers in the country. The Jew of power, as often, felt little responsibility for the Jews in need.

Deedes and I had a warm reception wherever we went,

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and the women particularly were eager and responsive. As the dreamer with the vision of a better world, Deedes got straight to their hearts, and uncannily made a different speech every time. It was my business to be practical and get to their purses. We both failed to get either to the heart or the purses of the "non-Aryan" Christians in our appeal for the "non-Aryan" refugees. Those who should have felt that appeal, who, but for the accident of their father's emigration would have been struck down, were impenetrable. The only non-Jewish individuals to give generously were descendants of the Huguenots, men like Judge Schreiner—kinsman of Olive—who cherished the cause of tolerance. It is a hard community wherein Money Maketh Man. One of the significant things in Johannesburg, as Sarah Millin remarked, is the passion for bridge-playing; night after night and afternoon in and out men and women play their cards and gamble, seeking a form of escapism from an uneasy capitalist strain.

We spent one day at the Union capital, Pretoria—lovely in its bloom of the Jacaranda week, but essentially a simple Boer town. There, besides three meetings, we had an hour with Smuts, an hour with Hofmeyr, and luncheon at Government House with the Governor-General, Sir Patrick Duncan. At Government House my principal impression was of the beauty of the residence, designed by Baker, and of its garden and its grass verge running a quarter-mile in a straight line. Lady Duncan remarked on the feeling aroused against Jews in South Africa because they tended to be exclusive in their philanthropic work; but she added that many who had come to the country from lands of persecution are transformed there, physically and mentally, as they are in Palestine.

Smuts, whom I met for the first time, was tremendously impressive, and his bright eyes pierced like a needle. He is, above all others, the four-square man, combining the excellence of statesman, lawyer, soldier, and

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philosopher. Father of the Mandate system, he was concerned, of course, about Palestine, and thought that there and in the world in general the policy was to be patient and wait for a better mood in mankind. The forces of human nature, which are inherently good, will assert themselves, if given time, and will turn against cruelty. Chamberlain had acted rightly in averting the war over Czechoslovakia ; for what we still call war is some new horror, an utter destruction of civilization, and must be avoided at almost any cost. When I suggested that the appeasement policy imperilled the fundamental freedoms for which England stood, he rated me, as a headmaster rates a boy, asking if I did not believe in our Bible. God would work things in his own time. He quoted the Griqua prayer of a chief of the tribe who, before the decisive battle, prayed : " Oh God, you must help us at this crisis, and please do not send your son, but come yourself."

Hofmeyr had recently resigned from the Cabinet on a question of principle ; he would not accept the more complete segregation of the native, which was part of the policy of his party. He, too, was concerned mostly about Palestine, which for South African statesmen, no less than South African Jews, evokes as strong a sentiment as for the English Bible-reading statesmen of the early Victorian era.

Another of our excursions from Johannesburg was to the mining township of Benoni, which had its special Jewish interest, in that its Hebrew name, meaning Son of Affliction, was given to it by a Jewish prospector. The head of the South African Zionists had infected that community with an amazing whole-heartedness for Zion. Three of his daughters had found their mates in Palestine ; and family links between South African and Palestinian Jewry are constantly forged.

The drive back by night from the Rand townships along the golden-white way of the mine dumps had a fantastic attraction. One felt the Nibelungs below digging

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up the gold in order that it should be buried again in some bank vaults. And this was the foundation of South African wealth ! We had a little time, between our meetings and deputations, to catch a glimpse of the underworld native life ; and the glimpse appalled us because of the callousness and ruthlessness of the segregation. We saw two of the native townships, the more modern Orlando and the wretched Pimville ; and were provoked above all by the native school of the latter township, the one and only maintained by the Government. Six hundred black children were herded together indescribably in one ramshackle tin shanty, wherein six teachers were shouting against each other to their classes. When we met the Mayor of Johannesburg in his parlour, we were moved to tell him what we felt, only to be asked if we realized that some white children in the Transvaal did not get a good education, and that the provision for the natives—furnished, by the way, entirely out of the proceeds of the native taxation—was much better than it had been. Deedes and I understood how the cause of the natives gripped Winifred Holtby ten years before, and we might have been gripped by it ourselves. We met the leaders of the Movement for Better Race Relations, and our guide to the “ locations ” was a Jewish woman anthropologist, who was devoted to the cause. There was all too close a likeness between the white man’s attitude to the Kaffir and the Nazi’s attitude to the Jew ; but few Jews would see it.

One of the three representatives of the natives in the Union Parliament, Mrs. Ballinger, a most capable and high spirited woman, put us wise about the political conditions. She and her two male colleagues in the Lower House, and Senator Brooks in the Senate, had made the native question at least a live issue in Parliament. The root of the evil is not so much race feeling as that the prosperity of white South Africa is based upon the exploitation of black South Africa ; and the growing subsidy to the “ Poor Whites ”, victims of a

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bad economic system, is provided by the Government's share of the illgotten gains. A Jewish woman member of Parliament, Mrs. Bertha Solomon, invited us to meet the Minister for Native Affairs, Mr. Fagan, who had succeeded Hofmeyr. He was sympathetic in intention, a man of humanity and distinguished as a poet; but this Dutch generation it seems is not prepared to take radical measures.

His main contention for preserving the *status quo* was that only 1,000,000 of the 6,000,000 natives were living in urban conditions. The rest kept their tribal organization, which should be maintained and strengthened.

We flew from Johannesburg to Kimberley and Cape-town, and along the coast of the Colony to East London and Port Elizabeth. We gained from above a picture of the veldt, its farms and its townships, which is more humanized than the Australian Bush. Everywhere we had meetings, and in most places mayoral receptions which, in spite of the cleavage between Jews and Gentiles, are a regular feature of Jewish charity campaigns. At Kimberley the relation of the communities was happier than at Johannesburg. The influence of Cecil Rhodes, who had befriended the Hebrew Congregation, is remembered; and the De Beers Company, which owns and rules Kimberley, has retained an important Jewish or non-Aryan element. Kimberley has still the character of a big camp. Town planning and Americanization have not touched it as they have transformed Johannesburg; and it seemed appropriate that the principal paper was called the *Diamond-Fields Advertiser*. Both the romance and the sordidness have disappeared with the amateur digger. We saw the great holes of the workings, the de Beer's shelf of diamonds, the Museum of Kimberley history, and the Museum of native peoples. Round the last we were shown by its enthusiastic founder, Duggan Cronin. He knows no native language, but is accompanied everywhere by a native boy who interprets. Originally working with the natives in the De Beers

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field, he became engrossed in their institutions, and was scathing about their demoralization by the working in the mines.

The latter part of the flight to Capetown over the mountains, and culminating in the view of the town and the seaboard of the Peninsula, was the most entrancing sight in my 30,000 miles of air travel. We were whisked off from the aerodrome to a luncheon at the Jewish Community Hall, which is part of a Jewish quasi-civic centre in Hope Street. Our arrival coincided with that of the British cricket team, and so we were deprived of a mayoral welcome at the aerodrome ; but we had a mayoral reception in the Town Hall in the afternoon, and in the evening we were preached at in the synagogue.

The Jews were to gain enhanced respect during that cricket season because the most successful bowler of South Africa was a young Jewish cricketer.

We were surprised to find that Guy Fawkes' Day was celebrated vigorously in Capetown with guys and fireworks. It was almost pathetic to see black and coloured children carrying the effigies of religious intolerance. A more innocuous evidence of conservatism in South Africa was that the old Victorian melodrama—*East Lynne*—was being played in Afrikaans.

We had a lovely drive, with three meetings to break it, to Worcester, Villiersdorp, and Somerset West. The country was reminiscent of Haifa, the Phœnician coast, and the Lebanon, but on a grander scale. Jews were prominent, perhaps too prominent, in the shops and businesses of the little towns ; and in each inn we found a Jewish host. The progress from commerce to the professions goes on unceasingly, the father realizing his aspirations for learning through the children. The son of the innkeeper at Worcester was a graduate of the Cape University and an industrial chemist. The four sons of the owner of the big store were a doctor in London, a dentist in Capetown, a graduate at the Cape University and a brilliant schoolboy.

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A kinsman, brother of the woman who writes verse in England as Sagittarius, took me to the Rhodes' Memorial at Kirstenbosch. The memorial seemed a bit theatrical, but the legend on it is true : " The brooding spirit still shall quicken and control. Living, he was the land ; and dead his soul shall be her soul." One good aspect, at least, of his spirit was the largeness of conception. And another was his faith in a common culture, which was expressed in the knitting of the Empire through universities. He thought at one time to endow the University of South Africa as a single national university, an instrument for welding Boer and Briton. And the Rhodes' Trust is the only parallel amongst English benefactions to the international Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations.

After Capetown the place that impressed in the Colony was Port Elizabeth, which is more progressive than any other in the Union, not only in its industrial but in its social development, and particularly its provision for coloured and native population. It merited its motto : " Tu meliora speras." Grey-shirts, aping the Nazis, sought to promote hatred of Jews by disseminating the forged frenzies of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. But they had been checked by a libel action brought against them by the Rabbi. The Vice-Mayor of the town, a Jew, who was our impresario, brought a large vision to his office as Chairman of the Housing Committee. Here, and here only in South Africa, an improvement scheme took account fairly of the needs of poor whites, the coloured, and the natives. The Municipality owning a large area of land by the gift of God, and adding to it by prudent purchase, had offered cheap sites to industry, and was developing a garden suburb. In six months it had completed the building of 1,000 homes, 600 of them for natives, and cleared away slums of which we saw a relic ; twelve native families herded in an underground hovel. The quarters of New Brighton were attractive in design and excellently planned ; the houses

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set around a garden court, school, playground, and community centre in each block. Our guide, who had made his way from Eastern Europe to South Africa carrying his pedlar's pack, fought in the Boer War, and become one of the respected merchants and citizens of the town, had the vision of social justice and a larger humanity. The simple self-educated immigrant carried with him a mixed English and Dutch council. In 1940 he became Mayor of the City, and in the midst of the war initiated a policy of racial co-operation. The intellectual progression was illustrated in his family; one of his sons had been a research fellow in the London School of Economics; his daughter, a medical graduate of Cambridge, was as well-read as any woman in Bloomsbury, and devoted to the organization of medical clinics for the native population.

We flew to Bloemfontein, which has a different character. The spirit of the Boer revolt and exclusiveness lingers in it, expressed most strikingly in the War Memorial to 27,000 women and children, victims of the concentration camps. The memorial bears the legend: "I will not forgive, and I will not forget," and memory is the stumbling-block to humanity. The Supreme Court of the Union, which occupies a dignified building, as most Government buildings in the Union, is an instrument of better understanding; for law is a link between the two races. English legal manners and procedure have been combined with Dutch blood and Roman-Dutch institutions; and Cambridge and Oxford and the Temples play their part in the moulding of Judiciary and Bar. I spent some hours at Grey's College, the one bi-lingual University College of the country in which academic studies are duplicated. I was conducted by a "non-Aryan" Professor of Chemistry who had been thirty years on the staff, and remote hitherto from any Jewish interest. Born in Austria he was moved by the tragedy of German Jewry and felt his position precarious. Racial strife was strong in the University, fomented by

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two Dutch nationalists ; yet the principal was an outstanding Liberal, and the staff included several Jews. Moderates are attacked equally as lovers of Jews and lovers of natives. I met, too, a bright Jewish student, one of a score, who had been the representative of South Africa at the " Maccabead " at Tel Aviv in 1935, and, sensing frustration, was eager, as many others, to make his career in Palestine.

From Bloemfontein I drove to Johannesburg, crossing the Orange Free State, and passing the site of many of the battles of the war of my boyhood. My Boer driver had been interned with his mother in a concentration camp—very different from the Nazi's camps—after his father was killed, but he bore no resentment against the English ; and was singularly friendly to Jews. Only the young Dutch generation, he said, fostered these racial hatreds. He had himself experienced the helpfulness of the Jew in business, and he recalled one who had been the king of the traders in Bloemfontein. The English and the Jews brought prosperity, and they were essential elements in the Union. But he had no use for the Lebanese or Indian traders who played no inconsiderable part in the small towns, and were disliked for their excessive diligence.

At Johannesburg we had news of the last and worst German outrages against Jews throughout the Reich. General opinion was stirred, and the non-Jews felt that they must do something which resolved itself into they must say something. Our parting meeting was a Christian gathering at which the Anglican Bishop presided. Deedes on the next day spoke at Durban to a mixed audience, and in that more English atmosphere touched a vibrant chord. I flew northwards, first to Bulawayo and then to Salisbury.

The Jewish community of Rhodesia was eager to start on a scheme of land settlement to absorb some hundreds of the refugees who had already made their way to the towns, and to initiate a larger enterprise of Jewish pioneer

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settlement. There was much goodwill, but divided counsels of execution. I was taken to see two areas, one a vast estate owned by a Jew who, starting as a taxi-driver and then a butcher in the Belgian Congo, had made his pile and put it into the soil. The other was an area in a Government scheme of irrigation, which the Ministry of Agriculture were willing to lease or sell to an enterprise for the refugees. The meeting decided to pursue this smaller scheme, and for a year plans were passed to and fro between England and South Africa. But war came before execution. I had no time to visit Rhodes' grave on the Matopo Hills, which tantalizingly beckoned on the horizon.

At Salisbury I lunched with the Governor, Sir Herbert Stanley, who was in favour of a settlement on a modest scale, but warned against the illusion of a mass settlement in the Northern Territory ; and I had an interview with the Prime Minister, Mr. Huggins, a lively doctor who was not less anxious to help. They needed farmers who would be prepared to work energetically, and would not expect the leisurely life of the English planter, employing native labour to do the manual work.

The lines of the administration and of the community in Salisbury have fallen in pleasant places, at least during half the year. It is a garden city of lovely gardens. The Jewish community, under some strange influence of names, includes a considerable Sephardic element from the island of Rhodes. The first Jews came to Salisbury and to the Belgian Congo from there while it was under Turkish rule. In recent years they had brought in hundreds of their kith and kin ; and at the time of my visit they were planning an effort for the aid of the threatened community in the Italian Colony that was under sentence of expulsion. Both in Bulawayo and in Salisbury, and generally in the Union, I found an insistent yearning for a Jewish territory in Africa, which should be a home on a large scale for a people constantly and agonizingly rendered homeless. The cry of the

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magnates was for "IT" (Judische Territory), some locating it in Angola, others in Madagascar, others in a chunk of Northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo. The how and the where seemed of little importance ; but it must have vast space—the effect of living on the Veldt. If a reserve for big game, why should there be no reserve for Jews ? The yearning was repeated in the last little community which I addressed in South Africa—unexpectedly.

I flew from Salisbury to Beira, to catch at the Portuguese port the flying-boat which was bringing Deedes from Durban. The time-table gave me four or five hours between the services, and I had word of one Jew in Beira. I asked him to meet me at the aerodrome, to while away the sultry hours. I was the only passenger ; and to the surprise of the pilot, an imposing deputation of some sixteen persons awaited us. All the Jews of Beira had gathered together for the first time. The one of whom I had heard, Mr. Barnett, having risen in twenty-five years of assiduous work from a junior clerk to be head of a shipping agency, was the leader ; and with him were the French Consul, son of a Portuguese Rabbi, two doctors of the town, a dentist who had made his way from Palestine after the riots of 1929, which drove him out of Acre, two or three other emigrés driven from Palestine because they had entered illegally, and several refugees from Germany who had landed at Beira perforce because they were rejected in more delectable African places. The wife of Mr. Barnett was a Palestinian, with the strong sentiment for the country which was spread over the whole group ; but she did not hanker for the life of her native Safed where you had no "boy" to jump to your call. The group was knit together, both by that feeling of brotherhood which is evoked in the Jews by persecution, and by its pride and interest in the work for a National Home. In this remote outpost Einstein's remark was proved again, that the strongest bond of the Jewish people to-day is their participation

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in the creative achievement which is Palestine. When I told them of our needs for German Jewry, they contributed straightway £200, a more generous poll-tax than any other in our tour.

We flew to England the same way as we had come. On the next day parties met us at Mombasa, where another Palestinian Jew and a refugee doctor held up the standard for refugees seeking admission to Kenya, and at Kisumu, where the secretary of the Committee at Nairobi came to expound their complaints and plans. If Palestine is a gathering place of Jews from all parts of the world, it is not less striking that Palestine Jews are scattered to all parts of the world. The little country is both a magnetic and a radio-active force.

The local papers were full of stories of the plight of German Jewry, and of plans for their settlement in Africa. Willy-nilly the Jews were again in the front page of the world interest. I snatched a half-hour with my former colleague, Robert Drayton, who was then Attorney-General at Dar-es-Salaam. He doubted the suitability of the East African Highlands for a place of settlement, because actinic rays of the sun threatened deterioration of the white settlers. But during the next half-year some 500 were placed on farms. At Khartoum, which was our next stage, we had an evening with the Governor of the Sudan, another former colleague in Palestine, Sir Stewart Symes. He had recently received a deputation of the Jewish community of 100 souls, urging possibilities of refugee settlement in the wide spaces of the Gezira ! After the serenest of flights over the Nile Valley to Cairo and Alexandria, we renewed our contacts with a third Palestine colleague, J. B. Barron, head of the Bonded Warehouse. He and Bishop Gwynne, of Egypt, were eager to initiate an appeal in the general, as in the Jewish, community of Egypt. For a spell compassion and pity were warm.

When we arrived the next afternoon in Rome, I tried to reach the Chief Rabbi ; but he and the lay head of

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the community were out of the town. The last day of the Odyssey seemed destined to be purposeless. But I was able to get a glimpse of an institute which I had long wanted to see. Near our hotel by the Porta Flaminia was the International Institute of Agriculture, established some forty years ago by an Americanized Russian Jew, David Lubin. He was one of the visionaries of our people who, in the hopeful era of the last generation, sought to give reality to the idea of world citizenship. The avenue which leads to his institute bears his name with the simple description "Philanthropist".

Wandering from there to the River Tiber, I found myself by a monument recently restored; the Altar of Peace erected by Augustus, when he had established peace in his Empire. I reflected on the difference in the lot of the Jews in the old Roman and the new Roman Empire. For all the boasting and the parade of old symbols, Mussolini's Empire is the antithesis of the other. Augustus brought peace and tolerance; the Duce war and intolerance. Thence I was led on by some subconscious attraction—for I had been there forty-five years before—to a building by the river, which proved to be a synagogue. It was a weekday evening, but the building was full. A memorial service was being held to a leader of the community. The sight of the congregation was pathetic; the bolt of repression and exile had fallen from the blue sky. The Jews had taken their full part in the achievement of Italian unity; for one hundred years they had enjoyed an equal place in every aspect of Italian life; and for fifteen years given full co-operation to the Fascist party. Now they were thrust out of their fatherland as unwanted aliens because of an imposed barbarity of the modern Goth masters.

On our last day's flight along the Riviera the Moorish names on the coast reminded us that the French occupation of North Africa is a counterpart of the Moorish occupation of the French Littoral; just as the French Mandate over Syria and the Lebanon is a parallel of the Phœnician

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colonies on the Riviera of antiquity. Through the ages the Mediterranean peoples have exchanged and shared their civilization, north with south, east with west. And the Jews in Palestine are to-day the carriers of the European civilization eastwards, even as once they carried the Hellenistic-Roman civilization westwards.

The English papers that we picked up told of the action in England to help German Jewry. The doors were to be opened for the admission of children. That was the message with which my wife greeted me. Throughout the last years what happened to the Jews was the presage of the fate of free peoples. Europe, following the sorry surrender at Munich, was rushing to its doom, and we had come to the penultimate act of the tragedy. But the spirit of humanity was again ascendant.

CHAPTER XIII

EPILOGUE

THE generation through which I have lived has been the most momentous in modern history. Ours are Apocalyptic times. During these fifty years four great changes have affected the Jews in their material and spiritual life ; the Zionist movement and the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine ; the Russian Revolution ; the emigration of Jews from Central and Eastern Europe to the United States of America ; and, lastly, the Nazi persecution and the annihilation of the principles of the emancipation in Greater Germany, culminating in the war of revolutionary destruction. The fundamental economic changes of the general society, also, have deeply affected Jewish life everywhere throughout the world. Every part of Jewry has been revolutionized. The effect of the movements upon them has been much more complete than the effects of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, because the whole world is more closely knit together than it was then, as a single neighbourhood. Jews are peculiarly sensitive to radical changes in the environment ; they are a cosmic people scattered over the continents ; and they are also, more than any other, the first victims of any rising against the established order. The root-trouble of our times, the sense of social insecurity, has upset the foundations of nineteenth century Liberalism, which is described as the husk of Christianity without the kernel. I have been able to see something of these revolutionary processes, and have had a small part in two movements towards a new order.

Here I may interpolate an aside. During the last seven years I have indulged in several diversions from the Jewish and refugee interests. I have been a member

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of what Henry Nevinson calls "the stage-army of the good", connected with a bevy of causes, national and international, such as the Council of Civil Liberties, the National Peace Council, the Congress of Faiths, the League of Nations Union and, more recently, Federal Union. One thing common to these efforts is the discrepancy between the instrument and the aim ; and these seven years have been a lean period for Utopians. It has been hard for them to keep head and feet on the same plane ; and they have lacked the burning conviction which is necessary to carry a creed to fulfilment.

One activity of the Council of Civil Liberties I did enjoy. It was the presiding in 1937 over an unofficial commission of inquiry into the conduct of the police at an open-air meeting in South Kensington, when mounted constables charged into a crowd listening to anti-Fascist speeches and knocked them about. The Home Secretary had refused any inquiry, and the Council was anxious to compel reconsideration of his decision by presenting him with the evidence. My colleagues in the inquiry were Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., J. B. Priestley, one of my Cambridge tutors, Professor F. M. Cornford, and a Quaker of Birmingham, Isaac Barrow. We sat on two or three evenings, heard statements from a score of witnesses, and came to the unanimous conclusion that there was serious matter for examination. Nothing, indeed, was done because, before the report was published, there were more serious matters for a new Home Secretary to attend to. What was impressed on us all was the ease with which the best police force in the world could lose its control under the stress of panic fears of revolution. The Fascist-anti-Fascist feud in England, small as were the numbers involved on either side, was one of the revolutionary rumblings of that volcanic period.

Now and then, too, I have felt the urge to do something practical, however small, for a cause of humanity in which Jews were not directly concerned. I experienced it in South Africa when I saw the conditions of the

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natives ; and again as a member of the China Committee for the help of the Chinese in their struggle for national independence. When, in the summer of 1939, Margery Fry asked me if I would join her in taking legal action on behalf of four Chinese fugitives in the British Consulate in Tientsin, whose surrender had been demanded by the Japanese, I let discretion go and agreed. The surrender of the men had at first been refused by the British, but as a sop to the policy of appeasement was now to be granted. We instructed lawyers in London to apply for a writ of habeas corpus in Tientsin ; and when the application was rejected there—on transparently unsound reasons—to initiate fresh proceedings before the High Court in London. They were not successful ; but they did serve to hold up the surrender for nearly two months and give a chance to the four men. This action caused perturbation among some with whom I was working in the Refugee Council, for fear that it should annoy the British Government on whose goodwill we must rely. The war came to cover up my imprudence, if it was that ; but it seemed to me then and on other occasions that, like anybody else, I should listen to “ the still sad music of humanity ” and take a stand for the common human being without thought of the consequences. It may be, however, that dissipation in philanthropy is as bad as dissipation in drink.

In my youth the Jewish people stood, half consciously, at the parting of the ways. During the greater part of the nineteenth century their leaders believed that the solution of their problem was to be found either by the spreading of enlightenment and the extension to all countries of the rights of man, which had been granted to the Jews of Western Europe and America as a consequence of the Revolution ; or by assimilation of the Jews to their Gentile fellow-citizens, with the single difference of religious creed and observance. The return to a home in Palestine was for most a pious aspiration, for a few a sentimental striving. In the countries where

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they enjoyed freedom, they seemed likely to disappear. Emancipation meant emasculation : and at the same time universal and impersonal forces were weakening the force of their religious tradition. As Zangwill put it, they must be denationalized or renationalized. A permanent recrudescence of anti-Semitism in Central Europe, however, and its temporary flaring up in France, gave a fresh impulse to the Zionist movement, and converted the sentimental striving into a national effort.

The establishment of a National Home was the compass by which the Jewish people, which had for centuries sailed the seas without a chart, could steer its course. It was a turning-point in Jewish history, as significant as the Exodus from Egypt, or the breaking away of the Christian sect. The watchword in the nineteenth century was "out of the ghetto into the human" ; the watchword in the twentieth century was "out of the ghetto into the nation". From my home environment I acquired a desire to take part in service for the Jewish people, and particularly in the national revival. Having wandered for a time in uncertainty, I found an aim and steered for it, first by a somewhat zig-zag course through service in Egypt. The World War, 1914-18, and the Peace Congress which followed it gave to the Zionist endeavour a larger stature. The building up of the Home became the principal direction and the principal ideal for a large part of the Jews, and offered a solution, if not of the physical problem of homelessness for the millions who were not happy in their country of sojourn, yet, at any rate, of the spiritual problem of finding a centre for a living Jewish people.

The deeper significance of the movement was understood by the English statesman whose name will be associated for ever with the restoration in our day of the Jewish Home. Harold Nicholson has recorded a conversation of Lord Balfour in which he declared :—"The Jews are among the most gifted races of mankind. They have many material aptitudes, a wide spiritual

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foundation, but only one idea. That idea is the return to Zion. By depriving them of that idea the world has diminished their virtues and stimulated their defects. If we can help them to attain their ideal, we shall restore them their dignity. Upon the basis of that dignity their intelligence will cease to be merely acquisitive, and become creative. The new Jerusalem will be a centre of intelligence, and Judea an asylum for the oppressed."

For more than twenty years my life was bound up with that effort, and I approached a concentration of purpose for which I had been groping. I say "approached", because there was still the barrier of official life. Then, in the latter years, a fresh crisis and a fresh struggle for life was forced on the Jews. The basis of their human rights was cut away in one country after another of Central Europe. The sense of inferiority which had afflicted them for centuries, "the endemic disease of the race," was again imposed upon them. The hope that at last they had conquered that malady by rendering equal service in citizenship with the best of other nations, and that they might be merged in the general body politic, was torn up. They were, as in the darkest days of the Dark Ages, the scapegoat for the tribulations of the people among whom they lived. For all their desire to stay in the acquired fatherland, another exodus was forced on them. They were unwanted guests, pointed at day in and day out as parasites. They must wander again or perish.

The Home in Palestine could make an important contribution towards the mitigation of the physical problem, and still more towards the moral regeneration of the uprooted ; but it could not physically be sufficient in itself. At the same time the Communist revolution in Russia reduced the quantity of the Jews who were in distress and denied opportunity, and led to the transformation of the religious, social, and economic conditions of over 3,000,000 souls. The growth of the Jewish population in the United States from 250,000, as it was when I was

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born, to over 4,000,000 in the years which followed the World War, had brought about another fundamental change. The community of the United States was the largest and the most prosperous in the world, and it appeared to stand on the sure foundation of equal civic rights and equal opportunity. For the Rights of Man were still a living ideal in the country of Washington and Lincoln. Nevertheless, a Jewish problem was growing even in the land of liberty, because the economic life of the community remained almost as abnormal as in the countries from which the emigrants had come. There were far more of them with intelligence than the people among whom they lived could absorb. Would it be possible to remove that abnormality?

One of my Jewish teachers, Ahad Ha'am, stressed the significance of the society planted in the National Home in Palestine as a miniature of what the Jewish people should be. That was true of its economic as well as its intellectual and spiritual life. The shifting of the Jews from commerce and intellectual professions and certain secondary industries to all the productive occupations, cultivation of the soil and manual and mechanical industry, had been achieved there, and also in the Union of Soviet Republics. If the example should influence positively and rapidly those Jewish communities in Europe and America which still have freedom of opportunity, Palestine may have "colonies" in the true sense. That term, used to-day for the agricultural villages of the Jews in the country, in the future may be used of settlements on the land in different parts of the world, which will be linked by economic, intellectual, and spiritual ties with the mother-country.

The world we live in is being continually made afresh ; and for each of us to become continually something different is the inescapable condition of existence in time. I have been by reason of my work different in the last decade from what I was between youth and middle age. The specific activity which engaged me in that

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decade was the finding of a refuge for the younger generation of the oldest and most intellectual Jewish communities in Europe. The Jews were the first and most helpless victims in the assault on humanity which the Nazis have waged relentlessly, and the main effort had to be to save them from destruction. The task of salvage was rudely interrupted by the cataclysm of the war ; and a fresh and bigger problem awaits us.

The old world-order in which our ancestors had faith, promising the extension of liberty and equality to Jews in all countries, has been destroyed. We shall have, at the end of this last savage welter, to create a human order. The Jews are again a problem not only to themselves ; they are part of a world problem, and a responsibility to the Gentile society which has created it, and cannot allow them to be a constant irritant in the international society. In any period of trouble men of mark tend to denounce Jewish separateness and Jewish nationality as an anachronism, preserved by Jewish exclusiveness and obstinacy. One of the latest to express that feeling is Mr. H. G. Wells. He charges the Jew with being one of the obstacles to the establishment of a world society, by reason of his idea of the "chosen people" with its aggressive orthodoxy, its self-exclusion from the common fellowship, and its revival of a chauvinistic nationalism. We should become common citizens of the world. One hundred years ago a German thinker, the companion of Karl Marx, uttered much the same charges.

"History means development, progress, and change ; but the Jews wish to remain the same always. The tenacity of their national spirit is proof of an incapacity for a historic development. The exclusiveness is the very essence of their excludedness. The exclusiveness of Christianity is a Jewish heritage. The Jews still consider themselves the chosen people for whose sake the world exists." And Dostoievsky in the next generation charged them with claiming aristocratic election : they were a people alone with God, a nation of rulers.

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Is there any truth in these charges constantly repeated ? Though most Jews make a conscious effort, and have an immense yearning to cease to be a problem, their position in the world remains abnormal ; and they cannot, however much they desire it, repudiate either their nature or the effects of their history. Must they remain the scapegoat and also the gad-fly of humanity ?

The charge that Jewish aggressive orthodoxy is the main cause of the feeling against them, which might have been plausible 100 years ago, cannot be sustained to-day. It is as fantastic as the conspiracy of the Elders of Zion. Mr. Wells, indulging in imaginative calculations, reckons 4,000,000 " orthodox " Jews and 3,000,000 " Reform or Nationalist " Jews—, as though the two latter characters were identical. In fact, the number of orthodox Jews is to-day very much less, not half his estimate ; and a large part of the Reform Jews are deeply opposed to nationalism. The effort to be cosmopolitan was consciously made by the " Reform " Jews of Germany in the early part of the nineteenth century, as a part of the cultural emancipation, but in a short time they were almost the only cosmopolitans left in a Chauvinist Germany. Their aspiration for a world city, even when met with sacrifice of every Jewish distinctiveness, including their creed and religious observance, did not bring them any tolerance or favour from their neighbours. They remained distinctive and disliked as cosmopolitans in an intensely national society. It is much the same to-day ; and the trouble has been aggravated by the movement of other peoples towards isolation.

Modern thinkers in France have pointed out the double character of the Jew who, like truth, is a union of opposites. One French philosopher, at the end of the last War, thought that the Jews must take a prominent part in the realization of a League of Nations and of religions because they were a people of synthesis. " Israel is the combination of contraries. He holds most forcibly to the traditions of the past and to the aspirations for

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the future. He is most European and most Asiatic; Oriental and Occidental, the most dispersed and the most concentrated of peoples, capitalist and socialist, enterprising and tenacious, realistic and idealistic, rooted to earth and soaring to Heaven." Others have suggested that the double character of the Jewish people of to-day is derived from two strains—Israel and Phoenicia, each a root of a prominence, spiritual on the one side, commercial on the other, of the passion for creating a new order, and of the talent for the manipulation of money.

Karl Marx, in a bitter attack on the people from which he was sprung, exclaimed: "What is the earthly culture of the Jew? Trade. What is the earthly deity of the Jew? Money. Emancipation from trade and money would be the great emancipation required by our time." A living Roman Catholic philosopher, with more objective understanding, has stressed the polarity of the Jew, who is perpetually in search of a Messiah, and is the leaven materially, socially, and spiritually in any society in which he lives.¹

"Israel has the task of the earthly activization of the mass of the world. He is to be found at the heart of the world structure, stimulating, exasperating, moving it." It is a strange reflection on Jewish suffering to-day that two contemporary teachers sprung from his race—Ferdinand Lassalle and Karl Marx—helped to fashion thought in the totalitarian states that are to-day united in the attempt to destroy the liberal basis of Western civilization, on which Jewish rights have depended. Lassalle inspired the National Socialism which combines anti-capitalism with anti-Semitism and anti-Hebraism, and aims at the destruction of the Jew as well as the destruction of Judaism and Christianity. Marx inspired Communism, which has set up a new Messianic idea, and seeks to supersede the spiritual Messianism of the Hebrew prophets.

Beset as they are on all sides, the Jews will not perish or

¹ Jacques Maritain, *Anti-Semitism*, 1939.

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be completely assimilated with other peoples because they have an indomitable vitality, which is stimulated by persecution, and an unexampled power of resistance to misfortune. Significantly the Hebrew toast, with which they greet each other in any celebration, is "For Life". And so this one per cent of the human race persists. It has been remarked that Zeno, the Stoic, was appropriately a Semite. His race for 2,000 years has needed and followed his teaching.

If it is true that the vital part of them retain the sense of a chosen people, so does any other nationality which believes it has a mission or purpose to serve. The English, the French, the Americans have long held that belief; the Germans and Italians hold it in our day in most brutal form, which threatens the liberty of all other peoples. With the Jews it means an abiding faith that they have a contribution to make to the human society, intellectually and spiritually. It no longer means, and it has not meant for centuries, a sense that they are superior to other peoples, or any aspiration to dominate; and, in distinction from other peoples, they have a sense of their unworthiness. They were chosen for service, not for power.

Jewish nationalism is less opposed than any other in its fundamental idea to the establishment of an international world society. For more than 2,500 years it has been associated with an ideal of world peace, world society, and a single humanity. The temporary reaction in the Jewish National Home, following a denial of free group-life for centuries, has inevitably produced a national exuberance in part of the young generation returning to its ancestral soil. But there was and is a peculiar international and, so to say, œcumenical element in the Jewish society, whether living in Palestine or outside Palestine; a desire to build the city of God in Jerusalem and to build Jerusalem in every land. The Rabbis remarked a fundamental significance in the giving of the revelation outside the Land of Israel,

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in Sinai, the No Man's Land of the Wilderness. And that is a symbol of universal Judaism.

What contribution then can Jewry offer in the new world which will be struggling to be born at the end of this conflict? It will seek first of all to find a solution for its own problem. Its plan must be more comprehensive than that which it put forward at the last Peace Conference. But it will be, nevertheless, based on similar principles. First, the Jew must have Lebensraum for his cultural life. The Jewish National Home in Palestine is in being, and is recognized by the international society. But it is tiny in space. The aspiration for a state, which was entertained in 1918, when all the struggling nationalities believed in happiness through the sovereign nation-state, should give way to the larger notion of a Semitic Federation comprising all of the Middle East, in which the Jew will have his part with his Semitic kin. Cultural and social autonomy, rather than separate sovereignty, is coming to be recognized as the healthy expression of a national idea which can form part of a stable world-order. Then the Jews, wherever they live, will want assurance of equal civic rights for all the inhabitants of the state. At the last Peace Conference they believed, with other minority peoples, that, besides those equal rights, they should have assurance of special minority rights for their cultural needs, and an international guarantee for their fair application. The Treaty provisions to that effect worked ill. What was for the minorities a charter of rights was for the majority in the National State a hated discrimination. A broader recognition of the rights of man, which must include freedom of the group, as well as of the individual, to develop its own life, will give that assurance without the sense of discrimination.

Lastly, the Jew, seeking to return to the simpler life, will ask the opportunity to settle both in the Middle East and in other parts of the world which have still spaces to be filled, and offer an open soil to those who

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wish to go back to the life of the soil. Circumstance through the ages has congested him unnaturally in confined areas of Europe and in limited vocations. The nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century brought about a certain correction, but the process was checked by the economic crisis that overtook the world as the aftermath of the last War. The measures taken to salvage the wreck of the Jewish communities of Central Europe since the Nazi persecution began, have indicated how the process can be renewed and amplified. The Jew should be an agricultural pioneer in the United States and Australia no less than Palestine. And his settlements will be linked up spiritually with his National Home.

The Jewish effort in the world order, however, will not be restricted to his own people, any more than it has been in the order which is being dissolved. He will continue to be—as M. Maritain sees him—an activizing element, a leaven. His history as well as tradition have engendered in him a nostalgia of idealism, this perpetual search for a better and juster age, the Kingdom of God on earth.

Some among them will go on activizing because they can do no other. They cannot cease from working for peace and justice, no more than H. G. Wells can cease from analysing, and stimulating society towards the new scientific order which he wants. As Jacob Wassermann, who sought to merge his Judaism in Germanism, but was brought up sharply against the spewing of the Jew, has put it: "Justice, not merely as an abstract idea, but as a moral command of forceful energy, constitutes the moral, political, and religious foundation of Judaism." Again Einstein, who likewise has had to eat the bread of exile, has written: "Jewish Messianism is the conciliation of two tendencies which seem to be opposed, the separatist and the universalist."

The Jew, when he is true to his traditional teaching, must be a protagonist of social justice between the

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classes and of peace between the nations. He cannot buy off the suspicion of his neighbour by ceasing to stand by these principles, and falling in with the aberrations of narrow and militant nationalism. As he has had a prominent part in the successive social movements of the last century, Liberalism, Socialism, Communism, so we may expect that he will have his part in the social and international movement that must inform the World Order. By his international character he is fitted to be a link and a leaven of the peoples, the races, and the cultures.

Throughout their 3,000 years of history the Jewish people in times of stress and strain have turned to intellectual and spiritual guidance. During this last period they have had a significant intellectual revival : they still await the spiritual, which will bind them more closely together. The beginnings of it may be detected in Palestine and in the young generation which has been thrown out of Germany. Many in our young generation want the Jews to be a normal people, discarding the idea of any peculiar religious heritage. But willy-nilly the Jew will keep his Messianic vision ; his Messianic strength to begin anew ; his Messianic belief that the coming Kingdom of God will be of this world. Drawing sap again from his ancestral soil, from which he was cut off for 1,500 years, he will have a fresh strength spreading to all the branches.

The community in Palestine is a cell of awakening Judaism ; and it is from Palestine that a renewed message of Judaism will come. The need of Judaism begins where the need of the Jew ends. Rooted once more in the home in which, 2,000 years ago, he gave spiritual teaching to the rest of the world, the Jew's essential religious genius is reviving ; and his contribution will again be religious as well as social. The voice of the Hebrew prophet will be heard again ; and Judea will be again "pregnant with the living God". It is apparent to all that the basis of a genuine peace at the end of this war

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must be a spiritual change in the peoples ; and Judaism may have its contribution to make to that change, as it did in the first centuries of the Christian era, when the Græco-Roman religious civilization was breaking up. Jerusalem, the cradle of the three religions of monotheism may be the centre of a union of those three creeds which spring from the one root.

“The world order towards which we are moving requires some expression of its spiritual unity, as of its political unity ; and in any expression of that character the Jews, as heirs to the ideals of social and international peace, based on religion, should be a light of the world. The foundations of the religious and spiritual life are to-day more violently challenged than they have been for 2,000 years. The totalitarian states deny the value of justice, mercy, and truth, as well as of individual freedom. Openly proclaiming their hatred of Judaism they are not less enemies of the principles of Christianity and Islam. The call on the universal faiths to stand together is insistent.”

It has been the lot of my generation to live in an age of transition, when events have been in the saddle. As a young man I saw visions. In middle-age I dream dreams. After the war it will be a first task to remould shattered Jewry in a shattered world. I do not expect to see the new heaven and the new earth realized. But if I survive, I shall be, as I have been, a Jew errant, wandering between two worlds, one dead, one struggling to be born.

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